



THE HISTORY OF THE

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

AND WILLOW



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Historic Towns

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EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. & REV. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A.

Y O R K

HISTORIC TOWNS.

EDITED BY

E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. and Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A.

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London and New York: LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

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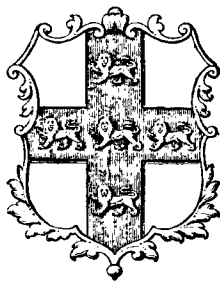
Y O R K

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LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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1893

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PREFACE

IT will be seen from this volume that York, in all periods of its existence, has played a very important part in the history of England. In the Roman, British, and Early Anglian times it was, to all intents and purposes, the capital city. It had imperial power in its possession, but was unable to retain it. The North-Humbrian people could not keep the chief position without combination and self-reliance, and these were rendered impossible by the petty feuds and tribal jealousies which were prevalent everywhere. They did, indeed, unite to oppose the Norman invaders, and made a noble struggle for their liberties and freedom, but even that was done irregularly; they were unable to make a proper use of their successes, and so they contended in vain.

For many centuries after the Conquest York was undoubtedly the capital of the North, and was most intimately connected, as will be seen, with the fortunes of the kingdom at large. There was always among the inhabitants a kind of restless energy which induced

them to take sides, and when they made a mistake, they were always fortunate in getting out of the difficulties which it involved. It may be said with some truth that the ruling power has not left the North, but has merely been transferred from York to the great towns in Lancashire and the West Riding.

The ecclesiastical position of York has been maintained more evenly and effectively than the civil. There are few great churches in Europe that possess a history so ancient and so distinguished. Are there any that have done more for education and missionary work? The stately minster remains beautiful as ever, and still attracts the admiration and affection of the whole of the North of England. What the city of York, as a centre of local influence, has lost, the minster retains with an ever-increasing strength.

The city and church of York have had many historians and chroniclers from the very earliest times. The Roman annals have been given with full and lucid accuracy by the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved; the Anglian, Norman, and post-Norman history is to be found in the Lives of the Archbishops, the muniments of the city, and the records of the country at large. The first person to write a description of the city itself was Sir Thomas Widdrington, the recorder in the reign of Charles I., but this is still unpublished. He was followed, early in the succeeding century, by Francis Drake, whose carefully prepared and well-illustrated volume is still one

of the best works in English topography. Since his day many students have filled up deficiencies in his book, or have taken in hand other subjects connected with the annals of the city. As for the antiquities with which the soil of York abounds, they have for many years found an appropriate home in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in whose beautiful gardens the remains of the Roman tower and wall, St. Mary's Abbey, and St. Leonard's Hospital, are carefully protected and preserved.

The writer's chief regret, in bidding farewell to his book, is that the requirements, so far as space is concerned, of this series of histories of towns forbid anything like the treatment which such a subject as 'York' ought properly to receive. He is painfully conscious of this in every page, but especially in the Third Part—the history of the Municipality and City—which requires more space and greater elaboration than can be given.

J. RAINE.

YORK: *December 1, 1892.*

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Y O R K



P A R T I

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CITY



CHAPTER I

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Cemeteries—Eburacum a Colony and the capital of Britain—
Inscriptions—Severus at Eburacum—Carausius and Constantine
—Decline of the Empire and desertion of Eburacum.

THE city of York is the central point in which the Ridings, or divisions, of Yorkshire touch one another, each of these divisions being equal in size to an ordinary English county. It stands near the head of a vale renowned for fertility and beauty. The site was, in far-distant days, a heath-covered moor, interlaced with strips of pasture land, and on the banks of a tidal river. Large woods, of which the Forest of Galtres was a remnant, were in close proximity, with patches of grass and tillage, dying away into moors and marshes, the home of the beaver and wild-fowl. Of the early Celtic inhabitants of the country we know but

little. Relics of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages attest their presence. I am inclined to think that the homes of the earliest inhabitants of Yorkshire were to be found upon its eastern wolds. The remains on those upland ranges indicate the existence of a number of small tribes, each jealous of the other. The hills are everywhere scarped with lines and entrenchments, denoting the neighbourhood of danger. Here the inhabitants lived, sometimes in hut dwellings, sometimes in prahs, like the Maories of New Zealand. The ground is still strewn with the implements of flint and stone which they used. Here and there are the mounds under which they were interred. The vast plains below, the woods which ran up into the straths, or crannies, and ornamented the lowlands, were the hunting-grounds of the dwellers on the hills. As peace, by one method or another, became ensured, the hillsmen would cross the plains to the rivers, leaving, wherever they went, the tokens of their presence, building their huts and burying their dead. It is extremely probable that York was the site of a very ancient tribal settlement. Before the Romans came, the British tribe of the Brigantes held the position and the neighbourhood. The curtain which conceals so much is first uplifted when York fell under the dominion of the masters of the world.

The name which the Romans gave to the place was Eburacum. It has been thought that the root of this word is the name of the river Ure or Eure, a tributary of the Ouse, which may have been given at one time to the whole stream. But there were many similar names in the Roman world, such as Eburovices (the people of

Eyreux), Eburobriga (Brimont), Eburodunum (Embrun), Eburobritium (Ebora). In later days, probably about the time of Severus, Eburacum was changed to Eboracum through Greek influence. The British name, *Caer Eabthroig*, or *Ebrauc*, comes directly from the Roman. The Anglian city was known as *Eoferwic*, which, if it is to be dissociated from *Ebrauc*, probably means the upper or capital city. This the Danes afterwards made into *Jorvik*, from which the modern name comes by a very easy process.

It is very probable that *Cartismandua*, the famous queen of the Brigantes, made the place her capital city. After the southern parts of the island were subdued, the Roman forces proceeded northwards, and, soon after the year A.D. 70, came into serious collision with the Brigantes. *Petilius Cerealis*, one of the lieutenants of *Vespasian*, was their leader, and *Tacitus* speaks of bloody battles and an arduous struggle, which resulted, as usual, in the victory of the invaders. No names are mentioned, either of places or combatants, but the success of *Cerealis* was so marked that when the next legate, the celebrated *Agricola*, came into the north in A.D. 78, he had merely to consolidate the gains of his predecessor and push his outposts still farther northward. The monument to a standard-bearer of the ninth legion, which is preserved in the York Museum, is of this period, and there was, probably, an early occupation of the place to which the name of *Eburacum* was given. *Isurium*, or *Aldborough*, was another Brigantian town in which the Romans settled, but at no period of their stay could *Isurium* have been anything more than

an adjunct to Eburacum. The pavements discovered there bear testimony to the wealth and taste of the inhabitants. Isurium was, probably, the occasional residence of the officers and rich men from Eburacum when they made their escape from the barrack and the noisy city, to seek rest and amusement in the little camp, from which they could go out to the chase among the forests of Richmondshire.

The Roman camp at Eburacum was placed upon the left bank of the Ouse, and was, in the first instance, a square containing sixty-five or seventy acres of ground. This, in process of time, became too small, and the camp seems to have been extended towards the south, some fifteen or twenty additional acres being brought within the mural enclosure. Within this camp the barracks, the state buildings, and official residences would be erected.

The camp was fortified by a lofty wall, of which there are considerable remains above ground on the eastern and western sides. It is built upon piles, without ditches, and must have been at least twenty feet in height, with two bands of brickwork—a pleasant contrast to the cream-coloured limestone of which it is constructed. At each corner there was a large multi-angular tower, one of which survives, having been happily retained by the citizens of York, in a later age, as a part of the fortifications of the city. The interior of the tower has been laid bare, showing that there have been at least two guard-chambers in it, on the walls of which may be observed some of the *graffiti*, or scribblings, of the Roman soldiers when they were in garrison. It is believed that along each face of the

wall there were other towers at equal distances, whilst on the inside more than one guard-house or sentry-box of brick has been found contiguous to the wall. The modern streets of Petergate and Stonegate, fairly straight lines, represent the chief roads through the camp, whilst Bootham Bar stands on the site of one of the four chief gates, some of the mural ornamentation of which has been discovered in close proximity. It is probable enough that the core of the bar is of Roman construction. Some six feet below the modern pavement of Stonegate, the old Roman paved and concreted road has been discovered, and we know that a channel of grooved stone ran down the centre of it for a skid-wheel, such as may still be seen on the great Roman road which goes over Blackstone Edge, joining Yorkshire and Lancashire. This paved causeway at York ran eastward under the site of the minster, and, to the west, left the camp through a gateway near the Insurance Office and the Mansion House. Beyond this it must have been carried to the river upon arches of stone to a bridge which crossed the stream at this point. On the opposite side of the Ouse the road ran up Toft Green, not, as has been stated, through Micklegate Bar, but crossing the middle of Queen Street and the shoulder of Holgate Road, and going a little behind the houses on the right-hand side of the Mount until it joined the modern highway not far from Dringhouses. In the opposite direction the road went eastward under the minster, and crossed the Foss, I believe, about one hundred yards above the present Monk Bridge, where I have detected some traces of a bridge-head. From this point it took the direction of Malton, where there

was an important station, not mentioned in the Itineraries. Northwards the road ran through Bootham Bar towards Aldborough, following for nearly a mile the course of the existing highway; towards the south it left the camp, as originally arranged, by a gateway near the present Christ Church, and, going for a long distance in a pretty straight line, it can be traced near Scoreby in the parish of Catton, where a Roman inscription has been found; and not far off, probably to guard the passage of the river, was the station called Derventio.

The position of the camp at Eburacum was a strong one. To the west there was the river, then tidal, and rendered more formidable by an embankment terminating in a river-wall, which would cut off all access on that side, except by the bridge. On the eastern side there was the natural drain, by which the surface water of the country to the north-east found its access to the Ouse; this the Romans would deepen and call the Foss, as at other places. And there is every reason to believe that on the south side of the camp there were the docks for shipping, protected themselves on the outer edge, and constituting a double bulwark for the fortified camp in the rear. On the north side of the camp, if protection had been needed, a moat or trench of living water might have been easily drawn from the Ouse to the Foss. It is evident that Eburacum must have been very strongly fortified. As it was the arsenal, or place of arms, for nearly the whole of the north, the camp must at all times have been placed beyond the possibility of capture by siege or surprise.

By whom were these fortifications erected? Hadrian came to Britain in 120, and erected the wall between the North Sea and the Solway. He would never have begun that work before the great arsenal and depôt at his base was properly secured and fortified. The masonry of the walls at York and in Northumberland is very nearly alike. But the walls of Eburacum must have been in existence before Hadrian came. In the year 1854 there was found deep in the ground near the southern gate of the camp, and close to Christ Church, a tablet inscribed with letters of a noble proportion, dedicated to the Emperor Trajan, and recording the execution of some work by the ninth, or Spanish, legion in the year of the Christian era 108-9. What could this work have been? In ancient documents Christ Church had a synonym, the 'Church of the Holy Trinity in the king's court.' What king? There has been no king of York, or Northumbria, since 954. Old English and Danish kings must, therefore, have resided here. And it is more than probable that, close to the southern gate of the Roman camp, they found and occupied the old official palace of the emperors. It is possible that the tablet commemorated the building of the palace itself. If this be so, the walls of the camp must have been previously constructed to give security to what was so near. There is no part of York more interesting in its associations than this. A little farther on, outside the gate, the Christian people afterwards erected the Church of St. Cruz, to commemorate their Founder, who died in a like place outside the gate of Jerusalem.

The small size of the original camp indicates an early Roman settlement, and even when enlarged, the

enclosed space must have soon become inadequate to contain the ever-increasing population. It overflowed, therefore, in various directions. Remains of large buildings have been discovered in Nessgate and Castle-gate, whilst on the opposite bank of the river there is a considerable tract of ground, extending from the Ouse to Micklegate Bar, and from Clementhorpe to North Street postern, which must have been filled with public buildings and private houses. Innumerable fragments of these have been discovered, with many tessellated pavements. An extensive series of public baths with all their appliances was uncovered in 1841. Everything testifies to the presence for a considerable period of a very large population. This is abundantly shown by the extensive cemeteries around the city. The road in the direction of Calcaria, or Tadcaster, was fringed with graves, which can still be traced for a mile or more from Micklegate Bar. On the slope of the Mount there is still preserved under the ground a domed tomb of brick, seven feet high, covering a finely-wrought stone coffin. The dome of the tomb, like those in the Appian Way, must have been originally above ground. In the neighbourhood of Clementhorpe a still more massive tomb was discovered in 1838, formed of ten huge blocks of stone. Within it was what remained of a coffin of cedar. This was filled up to a certain height with a layer of liquefied gypsum, in which the body was enveloped for sanitary purposes, as was very frequently the case at Eburacum. In process of time the gypsum hardened, retaining a minute impression of the remains which it enclosed. When this tomb was examined it was seen that the deceased, who

must have been a man of rank, had been buried in a dress of funereal purple, as the lime retained the colour, and some fragments of the dress itself still adhered to it. On the crest of Bishop Hill, under the Bale Hill, some tombs have been discovered, constructed of tiles, bearing the stamp of the sixth legion. But it was on the ground cleared away on two occasions for the requirements of the North-Eastern Railway Company that the most important Roman cemetery was discovered. In the course of these excavations the remains of several thousand persons must have been disturbed, many of whose bodies had been burnt and their ashes deposited in urns, whilst many others had been interred in coffins of wood, stone, brick, tiles, or lead, bearing evidence to the contemporaneous existence of almost every variety of sepulture. In some places the bodies were laid two, or even three, deep. This very extensive burial ground, which has been only partially opened, reached from St. Paul's Church to the river, and, northward, from the city wall to the vicinity of the iron-works of the York Engineering Company, covering nearly a square mile. On the outskirts were found several *putei*, or slave-pits, where dead slaves had been thrown indiscriminately into large open graves, eight or ten bodies in depth. On the opposite side of the river, on both sides of the high road to Isurium, there are the traces of a very extensive cemetery. The ground between the road and the river, from Marygate to the end of Clifton, is filled with graves, some of which were discovered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other side of the road the cemetery ran to the same distance. Large burial grounds also existed near

the roads to Malton and Derventio, and, within the last few years, numerous interments have been discovered near Heworth and in Fishergate. All these are direct evidences of the existence of a very large population indeed during the Roman occupation.

The Yorkshire Philosophical Society, which was established in 1823, has done much to throw light upon the history and condition of Eburacum, by gathering together in its museum a very large collection of objects, illustrative of Roman manners and life, which have been found in the place. There is no gathering from any Roman site in Britain that can be compared with it. More than fifty inscriptions are preserved—funereal and votive—and if there had not been a continuous occupation of the site, and a great scarcity of stone as well, this number would have been considerably increased. Between thirty and forty huge stone cists are in the grounds of the Society, with examples of almost every kind of interment in use among the Romans. Nearly seven hundred urns, most of them made on the spot, and of all forms, are shown in the museum, with a multitude of other objects, which cannot be enumerated. Among them is the auburn hair, the *flava crinis*, of a young Roman lady, taken out of her coffin, and still ornamented with the pins of jet which she used in life.

These disinterred remains tell their own tale. As at London, there is comparatively little of Roman masonry above ground to show the importance of Eburacum. Some considerable fragments of the walls of the camp, one of its corner towers, and a few other remnants *in situ*, make up the whole, such as it is.

The rooted dislike of the early Christians to pagan work has much to answer for, and the city has been too frequently injured or destroyed for much to be preserved. Over and over again have the materials of ancient buildings been used, as there is no stone attainable nearer than seven miles from the city. But Alcuin and William of Malmesbury tell us what Eburacum once was. At present, to a very great extent, *etiam periere ruinae*.

That Eburacum was a *colonia* is proved by two inscriptions. Without being a *municipium*, it was in the possession of municipal institutions. We know by sepulchral memorials that it had decurions and sevirs. But the military position of the place marked its dignity in the Roman world. The depôts of two Roman legions were here. Of these the earliest to arrive was the ninth, or Spanish legion, which was brought to Britain by Aulus Plautius in 43. Soon afterwards it lost a great part of its infantry through the revolt of Boadicea. The deficiency was made up, and the legion came into the north with Agricola, and in one of that general's campaigns in Scotland was once more unfortunate. It was surprised by the Caledonians in a night attack, and suffered very considerable loss. In the opinion of some, the legion was so reduced in numbers that it was afterwards incorporated with the sixth. There is really no foundation for this statement. The fine inscription to Trajan in 108-9, long after the time of Agricola, shows the ninth legion at Eburacum, and long after the arrival of the sixth there is evidence enough from inscriptions to show that the ninth retained its title and existence. But why do we

not find it on what we may term the roll-call of the legions? I have sometimes thought that the ninth may have shown cowardice in battle, and on that account may not have been reckoned for the future among the effective troops. The remnant may have been confined to the camp, acting as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The sixth legion was brought from Germany to Britain by Hadrian in 120, and from that year to the end of the Roman dominion in Britain its headquarters were at Eburacum. The greater part of the officers and men were generally occupied in garrison duty on the lines of the two walls in the north. There must have been many coming and going, and Eburacum must have held troops of many military bodies, and various nationalities. The only trace of cavalry is a fragment of a monument to a soldier of the *Ala Vocontiorum*, which was recruited in Gaul in the modern department of Vaucluse. We had previously learned from an inscription in Holland that there was an *ala* of these horsemen attached to the army in Britain.

The position which Eburacum occupied made it, as a matter of necessity, at a very early period the capital of Britain. In the first place it was in the centre of the island. Then there were military reasons which gave it a pre-eminent position. The south was quickly pacified, the north was never wholly subdued. The Roman soldiery, therefore, was mainly in the north. The Romans held Britain by force of arms, and where there was most danger there was the seat of empire. A double wall in the far north kept the Caledonii and Meatae in check, and was strengthened by a long range of entrenched camps, backed by stations and forts in

various parts of the country. Eburacum lay at the base of this system of aggression and defence. It was the store city, the depôt, on which so much depended. Thither, therefore, came the emperors who were soldiers rather than civilians in Britain. Thither came, and there, probably, lived the Roman dukes and counts, the proprætors and legates, where they could overlook and advise, and, in the time of peril, be the first to strike. A full system of communications between north and south must have been kept up, partly by posts, partly by fire-signals. It is known that a body of *vigiles*, or firemen, was stationed at Greta Bridge, near Barnard Castle. It would be one of their duties, I conceive, to attend to the preparation and lighting of the beacons. When the enemy was out in the north or north-west, when the bushrangers, who must have been often troublesome, were marauding and burning, the news would be quickly flashed to the central garrison city of Eburacum, and help would be sent in hot haste. Even still more easily, in times of danger, could Eburacum send on her fire-signals to her sister colony of Lindum.

Britain was made a province of the Roman empire by Claudius. The Emperor Severus divided the island into two parts—Britannia Superior and Inferior; and we learn from Dio Cassius that the second and twentieth legions, which were located at Caerleon and Chester, were in Upper Britain, whilst the sixth legion (at York) was in Lower Britain. I shall not attempt to decide here on what principle the division was made, but the boundary line seems to have run from the Humber to the Mersey. This system of partition continued until the time of Diocletian and Constantine, who made the

two divisions into four, Upper Britain being subdivided into Britannia Prima and Secunda, and Lower Britain into Maxima Cæsariensis and Flavia Cæsariensis. In 369 Theodosius added Valentia, which is supposed to have been in the far north. Maxima Cæsariensis extended from the Roman wall in Northumberland to the Humber, and therefore included Eburacum. From the *Notitia Dignitatum* we learn that the officers at the head of Maxima Cæsariensis and Valentia were persons of consular rank, the other three divisions being administered by officers of an inferior grade. It is probable that the vicar, the count, and the duke of the Britains, as well as the prefect of the sixth legion, had their official residence at York. The vicar was under the prefect of Gaul, who was also the superior of the vicars of Gaul and Spain. The vicar attended to finance and justice. The heads of the military departments were the count of the Britains, the count of the Saxon shore, and the duke. The duke, the chief of the three officers, had, as I have stated before, the charge of the district of Maxima Cæsariensis, which reached from the Humber to the great wall in Northumberland.

None of these changes really interfered with the position and dignity of Eburacum, which continued to be the capital of a military dominion. It is quite possible that in the later stages of the Roman rule Londinium became the commercial capital. The name of Augusta, which London received, was an honour only, and, as was seen in Gaul and Spain, an honour enjoyed by cities which were not always in the highest rank. Eburacum did not possess such a river as the Thames, but no one

could have looked upon its strongly-fortified camp and splendid suburbs without being impressed with the great importance of the city. Twice every day were the river-walls washed by the advancing tide, which would bring up from the Humber vessels of small tonnage from many distant places. Tradition says that the river-banks, as far as the Humber, were protected by a chain of forts, two miles apart. The population of the city, military and otherwise, must have been very considerable, and there must have been in it a curious combination of races and languages. The cruel wisdom of the Romans in filling up their armies brought strangers into connexion with strangers with whom they had no sympathy, and with whom they would never rise in rebellion against their masters. They had their own national divinities to worship. One deity every nationality had in some form or other in common, and that was Fortuna Redux; but the fickle goddess, although often entreated, rarely took the petitioners to their old homes. The Spaniard sighed in vain for his lost Peninsula. The early ages recorded upon tombstones tend to show how the climate of Britain, as well as hard toil, shortened the days of many a foreigner. But here in Eburacum they would have a happier time than in the camps in the north. The air was soft, the work was comparatively easy. The rivers were full of fish, the forests of game. Easy and safe roads linked Eburacum to the neighbouring stations, and here and there, wherever you went in the country, were the villas of the rich. There must have been more than one country house of the emperor at no great distance from the city, and when

Cæsar came back into Eburacum he might look with just pride upon the strength and beauty of the fortress, which was a sample of his power in every country in the world.

We know far too little of the great events, which must have taken place at Eburacum during the Roman occupation. Tacitus never mentions the north in those books of his *Annals* which remain to us, and his *Agricola* is more a record of general events than a description of persons and places. It is quite possible that Eburacum may some day yield an inscription bearing the great name of Agricola, who must have been deeply concerned in the early history of the place. Agricola was recalled by Domitian about the year 85. There are in the York Museum two bronze tablets of this period, found on the spot, and bearing punctured inscriptions of a very remarkable kind. These are votive dedications to Oceanus and Tethys, and to the gods of the general's *prætorium*, by a person called Demetrius the scribe. The latter inscription has been brought forward to show why at the condemnation of our Lord the Jews refused to go into the judgment hall of Pilate, lest they should be defiled, i.e. by such votive inscriptions, and the presence, besides, of the images of pagan deities. But there has been drawn from these tablets another illustration of history of the very highest interest.¹ We may practically identify Demetrius the scribe with Demetrius the grammarian, a native of Tarsus, whom Plutarch mentions in his 'Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles' as visiting him at Delphi on his way home from Britain. He had

¹ By the late Rev. C. W. King, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

been sent officially to that country by the Emperor Domitian, perhaps to enquire, among other things, into its products, especially in metals. But Plutarch calls him a holy man, and alludes to his investigations into the religious opinions of the natives. It is quite possible, also, that Demetrius may have played his part in the endeavours of Agricola to teach letters and acquaintance with useful arts to the people whom he had helped to subdue. These inscriptions seem to throw a ray of light over a very dark part of the history of our island.

The reign of Trajan is represented in the York Museum by an inscription cut in the year 108-9 of our era, recording the completion of some work by the ninth legion, which dedicates it to the emperor. It was probably the palace, or some building of great importance, which may have been built by the order of Trajan himself, who originated many public works in all parts of the empire. In 120, Hadrian visited the country, '*ambulans per Britannos*,' and spent some time, probably, at Eburacum, to which place he brought the sixth legion. There is in the Museum, as might be expected, a fragment of an inscription with Hadrian's name upon it, commemorating something that he had done in Eburacum. New buildings would, no doubt, be necessary to supply the wants of the entrenched camps on the wall which the emperor was constructing. During the remainder of the century we have no notice whatever of Eburacum. In the beginning of the following century, the city emerges from obscurity when Alfenius Senecio, the legate, dreading the Caledonians, asked the emperor Severus to come from Gaul to the rescue. That energetic commander, although

afflicted with a sore disease, hastened across the Channel, bringing with him his sons, Caracalla and Geta, and a large force. He left Geta in the south of England, and came to Eburacum, probably in the year 208. The Caledonians sent ambassadors to negotiate peace, but, refusing to subject themselves altogether to the Roman dominion, the mission was fruitless. A campaign in the north ensued, lasting for some two years, and as it resulted in the temporary submission of the insurgents, Severus returned to Eburacum. During these years the court was at that place, and Papinian, the great jurist, expounded and administered the Roman law, probably with the assistance of Ulpian. In 210, in the consulship of Faustinus and Rufus, the emperor issued an edict, dated at Eburacum, which is still on record. Severus now became seriously ill, and his end was foreseen. Omens of various kinds seemed to announce it. On his return from the north, as he drew near to Eburacum, the emperor was led by an error to the temple of Bellona, which must have been near the north gate (the modern Bootham Bar), and victims of an ill-omened colour were brought. Rejecting these, Severus left the temple and made his way to the palace, but the same dark-coloured *hostiæ* followed him to the very door. Evil was now anticipated, and it came. The Caledonians and the Meatae took up arms once more. Severus, greatly enraged, prepared at once for their extermination. But the conduct of his son, Caracalla, was the greatest trouble to him. Treacherous and unstable, Caracalla would fain grasp prematurely at the purple which was to be his so soon. He induced the soldiery to salute him as *Imperator*, whilst his father

was crippled with the gout. The enfeebled emperor, when he heard of the treason, summoned his son and his supporters to his presence, and telling them that the head and not the feet made the general, ordered them to march against the foe. On his death-bed he spoke feelingly to his sons, showing them how he had strengthened the empire, and bidding them cherish the soldiers, with whose help they could accomplish anything. 'I have been all,' he said mournfully, 'and yet what better am I for it?' The urn, which was to contain his ashes after the burning of his body, was brought to him to look at, by his own request. 'Thou shalt contain,' he said, 'what the whole world could not contain.' His last words were sympathetic and kindly: 'What more is there, my friends, that I can do for you?' and then the sick man passed away, on February 4th, 211. The body was arrayed in military dress and was carried out of the city to a noble funeral pyre. Caracalla and Geta then set it on fire, and, after this, the princes and the soldiers, in accordance with the usual custom, rode around the perishing remains of their late master. Some have thought that this scene occurred to the west of York, on the road to Acomb, where there is a conspicuous eminence called Severus' hill, and that the mound was reared over the grave of the emperor. But the hill is natural, not artificial. It is probable that the funeral pile was erected on the summit, nothing more. The ashes of Severus do not rest in Eburacum at all. They were carried in an urn to Rome by Caracalla and Geta. This is one of the events which, as a learned scholar has observed, 'have given to the city of York a classic celebrity.'

Towards the close of the same century we come to the sailor, Carausius, who held the British Channel with his fleet, and was finally recognized as emperor by those who could not put him down. He is said to have been killed at Eburacum in 293 by Allectus, his minister, who would in that case be proclaimed emperor in the same city. The coins of Carausius and his successor are very numerous at York, and, curiously enough, one has been discovered in which the bust of Allectus has been stamped upon that of Carausius.

In 305 Diocletian and Maximian abdicated, and Galerius and Constantius succeeded. Constantius took up his residence at once in York, where he died on July 25th, 306. There was a mediæval legend that his body was discovered under the church of St. Helen on the Walls, in a sepulchral vault containing a lamp which had been burning ever since his interment. This is not the only instance of the alleged discovery of such a lamp in a tomb. Camden believed this particular story, and the philosophic Bishop Wilkins thought it by no means impossible, but the legend has been long discredited. The truth, probably, is that the body of Constantius was burnt at Eburacum, and that his ashes, like those of Severus, were carried to Rome to be interred. The wife of Constantius was Helena, dear to Christian tradition as the discoverer of the True Cross, to whom so many churches, especially in and about Eburacum, were dedicated. Constantine was proclaimed emperor in this city on his father's death. The assertion that he was born here has been long since disproved, but it is still a firmly-believed article in the popular creed of the place. The very

scene of his birth is still pointed out in the Bedern. This is that Peterna where the English ambassador to the Council of Basel asserted that the so-called patron of Christianity came into the world.

Soon after his father's death Constantine left Britain for Gaul, and never returned. Eburacum during his reign must have been a great and flourishing city, and it had also a Christian congregation, presided over by a bishop who was summoned to the great councils of the Church. Constantine, no doubt, would have something to do with his being summoned, thus paying a tribute of respect to the city which had been, for some time at least, his home. In 332 he placed Britain, Gaul, and Iberia under one prefect or vicar, and when he died, five years afterwards, this new division of the empire fell to the share of his son, who bore his name. This Constantine attacked his brother Constans, and fell in battle near Aquileia in 340. Constans then became ruler of Britain, and visited the country soon afterwards. In 350 Constans was killed by Magnentius, whose father was a Briton, and the army in Britain espoused the cause of their compatriot. He was in the island for some time, but was slain by Constantius. During the next few years the Picts and Scots and Attacotti, with the Saxons, were very aggressive. In 367 nearly the whole island seems to have fallen into the possession of the three first-mentioned tribes, and Eburacum itself, or at least the suburbs, must have been captured. In a happy hour Valentinian sent Theodosius the Elder to recover the country, which was practically lost. The invaders seem to have got as far south as London, but Theodosius forced them northwards. They

had spread ruin and dismay as they came, dismantling towns and fortresses, which Theodosius restored. They retired home in confusion, and a new division in the extreme north, Valentia, marked the success of the conqueror. In 380 a Spaniard named Clemens Maximus revolted against Gratian and Theodosius, and is said to have been proclaimed emperor at York, where there must always have been a Spanish colony, with which he was probably connected. Maximus was worthy of his position. He acted with spirit and valour, and kept the Picts and the Scots down. But, not content with this, and bent on empire, he took the British army with him into Gaul, and killed Gratian, being himself slain by Theodosius at Aquileia in 388. His British soldiers then established themselves in Armorica, giving it the name of Lesser Britain. This draining of Britain of its soldiery tempted the Picts and the Scots back, until Stilicho came to the rescue, bringing a legion with him. This legion returned in 402, a fresh incursion of the hostile tribes following as a matter of course, which Stilicho again repressed by sending back the three famous old legions, the 2nd, the 6th, and the 20th, and they at once restored order, and preserved it. The next trouble in Britain was a revolt of the three legions, which made Marcus emperor. He wore the purple for a very short time, and was killed and succeeded by Gratian, who, after a reign of four months, was slain by the soldiery. A private soldier of the name of Constantine was the next emperor, and the choice, probably, of the northern legions. The mantle of his great namesake seemed to have fallen upon him, but

unhappily, instead of being content with Britain, like Maximus before him, he aimed at being the master of the world. He strove, in the first instance, to conquer Gaul and Spain. But before he took the troops from Britain with him, he instructed the natives to put themselves into a state of defence. Constantine had for a long time a considerable amount of success, but the country which he had deserted suffered through his absence. In 409 the Emperor Honorius desired the British cities to look to themselves for safety, and the inhabitants thereupon rose against the Roman officers and prefects who remained behind, and asserted and won their freedom. With this action the authority of Rome in Britain came altogether to an end. For a long while before the separation came there had been much restlessness and energetic action in Britain, and if the curtain were lifted we should no doubt find Eburacum taking a conspicuous part in the events of the time. What does she not owe to her Roman lords?

CHAPTER II

Caer Ebrauc after the Romans—The invaders, the Picts, Scots, and Saxons—Capture of the city by the English—Eoferwic under the Northumbrian kings as their capital—Art and the Northumbrian coins.

WHEN the Roman legions left the north, and the Roman officials were driven out, Eburacum, or Eboracum, became Caer Ebrauc, the chief, it is asserted, of the twenty-seven British *caers*, or fortified towns. If this were the fact, the supremacy of Eburacum must have been continued. The Britons would find a stronghold of renown, with huge fortifications and vast public buildings, ready to their hands. The population would be of two classes. A part would be semi-latinised; by education and training and intermarriage, it would be almost Roman. Then there would be the pure British portion, tolerated by the Romans because it submitted to their rule, and now all the more fitted for mastery, because long subjection had not destroyed its national feeling and spirit. During the Roman dominion a tribe called the Parisi lived on the coast of Yorkshire. They were probably distinct from the Brigantes, and there must have been various sections and fragments of the ancient race, which clung to their old traditions and manners. The presence among them of the Roman domination for so many

years must have had a hardening and strengthening effect. Feuds would die down because they could not be indulged in at the expense of others. Weaknesses would disappear and elements of strength would be fostered and concentrated by the force of the genius of the Roman character. We have no reason to suppose that, when the Britons became their own masters, everything went wrong at once. They had the Roman money to use, the Roman laws and institutions to follow, the Roman military discipline to teach them the art of war and give them courage. The neighbourhood and the aggressiveness of the Picts and Scots formed a permanent incentive to warlike energy and union among themselves. It is greatly to their honour that, for many a long year after the departure of their protectors, by their own unaided and dauntless courage they kept at bay their ancestral foes.

These enemies were: (i.) the Picts, the native inhabitants of Caledonia; (ii.) the Scots, an importation from Ireland to the country near the mouth of the Clyde; and (iii.) the Saxons and Angles. The two first-mentioned tribes were bent upon plunder and did not care to occupy the country which they ravaged. It was otherwise, however, with the Saxons. In the first instance, while the Romans were in Britain, the Saxons so infested the sea that the coast on both sides of the channel was known as the Saxon shore, and it was found necessary to guard against them, not only by a fleet, but by a series of forts. The Saxon shore in Britain ended with the Wash in Lincolnshire. It was thought that the more northerly portion of the coast had natural defences of its own which were deficient

elsewhere. But neither forts nor fleets could keep the invaders out. About the year 449, a Jutish body of invaders landed at Thanet under Hengest and Horsa and occupied Kent. Soon after this Hengest is said to have sent his son Oetha, and Ebissa his nephew, with a fleet into the north, and they made a settlement in the Lothians. To another Saxon tribe we owe the name of Sussex; to a third, the Angli, or English, that of East Anglia; and they spread northward and westward, until they became the master-people which gave its name to the whole country. The English occupation of the north took place about the middle of the sixth century. But it was not accomplished, apparently, without a vehement resistance. King Arthur has been placed by tradition at the head of the opposing Britons, and is said to have fought twelve great battles with the invaders. The poetry of romance has made the defenders heroes. Some place the scenes of these combats in Somerset, or thereabouts; others, in the north. The latter theory is, no doubt, supported by the frequent occurrence of the name of Arthur in connexion with places in the north. Those who are clever enough to discriminate between truth and fiction in the annals of Geoffrey of Monmouth, will find York here and there mentioned. But not one word has come down to us in real history about the capture of *Caer Ebrauc* by the English. Bands of marauders from time to time would creep up the Ouse in their flat-bottomed warships from the Humber. At Selby, some twelve miles from York, a very ancient cemetery has been discovered, in which the dead were laid in hollow trees, with branches of hazel in their hands, after the old Teutonic fashion, as

a protection against evil spirits and things. In York itself, in two or three places, similar interments have been found of a very early date, far removed from any known church or burial-ground. To the east of the city, there was uncovered a few years ago a cemetery of some extent, proving that the bodies had been burnt and deposited in urns, which were laid in the ground in regular order, as if they had belonged to a people in quiet possession of the place. The date of these last interments could not be later than the sixth century. It is evident that the makers of the urns had Roman and British pottery before them.

In the year 547 an event took place which shows an English settlement in the country. In that year Ida built Bebbanburh, or Bamborough. He chose it, no doubt, because it was a position of great strength, and in touch with the English colony in Lothian, from which he may have come, whilst from his new fortress he could command sea and land for a considerable distance. It is probable that about this time the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira were constituted, Bernicia extending from the Firth of Forth to the Tees, and Deira from that river to the Humber. Nennius, however, gives a somewhat earlier date. The first king of Deira was Ælle, who probably came from the south, and made a compact with Ida about the division of the country. York, now Eoferwic, would be the capital of his kingdom. But it was only a portion of Yorkshire that he held. The British kingdom of Elmete, consisting of a large portion of the West Riding, was independent of it, indicating a compromise between the contending races, and showing that for a

time at least the English were obliged to be content with the possession of Eoferwic and the long, narrow tract of country which bordered on the German Ocean.

On the death of Ælle, in 588, Æthelric, king of Bernicia, became the lord of Deira, and the two provinces were very wisely united in the kingdom of Northumbria. Æthelfrith, the son-in-law of Ælle, was the next king, and under him the kingdom grew in wealth and dominion. It was in his day that London and York were designated by Pope Gregory as archiepiscopal seats of equal dignity, whenever York became Christianised. In 617 Æthelfrith was slain, and Eadwine, his brother-in-law, succeeded. Eadwine had a genius for ruling, and in process of time became the Bretwalda, or chief king in Britain, as Æthelfrith had been before him. His own kingdom, which he considerably enlarged, was in admirable order, and Eoferwic was the capital. Wherever Eadwine went a standard of purple and gold waved over his head, whilst a tuft of feathers, fastened to a spear, was borne before him as an emblem of authority. As he walked in this stately guise among the remnants of Roman grandeur a looker-on might well have deemed that one of the emperors had come back. The great pagan temples were in more quiet places, such as Goodmanham, apart from the noise of soldiery and the tramp of the profaning war-horse; but in Eoferwic you might see the throng of business, and all the bustle and pomp of court life. Here, on Easter Day, 627, after their conversion to Christianity, Eadwine and his nobles were baptized, and, to commemorate that great change, the king began to erect a minster. It was not for him,

however, to see it completed, as he fell in battle against the combined attack of Penda of Mercia and Ceadwalla the Briton, in 633. The head of the vanquished monarch was brought to Eoferwic from Haethfeld, and was interred in St. Gregory's porch, or chapel, in the minster, his body finding a resting-place at Streoneshalch, which became for a time the chief burial-place of his family. Penda did not follow up his victory, but Ceadwalla took possession of Eoferwic, and there was an evil time for Christianity and the friends of Eadwine. It seemed as if the Britons, who still occupied so large a portion of the country, were aspiring once more for dominion.

For a time everything went in their favour. Osric, who had seized Deira, hoping to fill Eadwine's place, was bold enough to essay the siege of Eoferwic, but Ceadwalla destroyed him and most of his men by a sudden sally. Not more fortunate was Eanfrith of Bernicia, who was slain by the same chieftain when suing for peace. It fell to the lot of Oswald, in 635, by his victory over Ceadwalla near Hexham, to restore the kingdom to his race. The victor then became king of Northumbria, and completed the minster at York, but his heart and home were usually in Bernicia. He lived at Bebbanburh, or Bamborough, and his chief happiness was in joining the clergy from Lindisfarne in their work. It was at this place that he restored the episcopate in preference to York, which Paulinus had deserted. The bishopric came back to York in 664, and under Wilfrith the minster was restored and re-decorated; but we know very little indeed of the history of the city itself for a considerable period.

It was the chief place in Northumbria, and up to the death of Ecgfrith in 686 that kingdom was the dominant division of England. After the death of Ecgfrith, the disintegration of the Northumbrian kingdom went on rapidly. It must have resembled the Highlands of Scotland two or three centuries ago, when the jealousies and contentions of the clans prevented anything more than the occasional semblance of national unity. Powerful religious influences, the exhortations and examples of saint-like men, the charms and steadying power of learning, failed to moderate the uncontrollable passions of ignorant and self-willed men. Reckoning from Æthelfrith, who became king in 593, to the time of the invasion of 867, there were thirty rulers of Deira, of whom fourteen were killed and six banished. What chance had Eoferwic in such times as these? No settled principle of succession was adhered to. The crown was at the mercy of any unprincipled adventurer, and the king was not the only person assailed. Among the noble families in the district there were blood feuds continually springing up, and always sustained. Can it be wondered that Northumbria lost her pre-eminence among the English kingdoms? Nay, she could scarcely be regarded as a kingdom at all. And yet she had been long paramount, and, if she had but possessed the elements of permanent stability, the ruling city in England might have been firmly fixed on the banks of the Ouse.

What the city was like at this period it is not easy to say. The Roman walls and buildings were in existence and probably in use. Parts of one or two buildings and some sculptured stones are all that we can unhesitatingly refer to this era. There are specimens in York

of that beautiful interlacing work of which there is so much in the north of England. Metal-work and glass of this age are rarely met with, nor can they be recovered in any quantity until one of the cemeteries for unburnt bodies, of which there must be several in the neighbourhood of York, has been discovered. But, even when it is found, we can scarcely expect that it will yield the beautifully-wrought personal ornaments of which there are so many in the cemeteries of Kent. We learn something of the habits and position of the people from their coins. The coins in current use among the early Northumbrian English were the *scættu* (scat, shot), which was occasionally in silver, and the *stycas*. The *scættu*, with its endless variety of decoration, was evidently an imitation of several of the later Roman coins. It occurs but seldom, and its existence seems rather to indicate a desire to mark the importance of some local chieftain or tribe than to be of any great use to the common people in the way of exchange. It was altogether different with the small copper pieces called *stycas*. In the northern eighth-century version of St. Mark xii. 41, for our 'two mites which make one farthing,' we have 'tuoëge stycas.' These coins begin with Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, who died in 686, and were issued, as far as we know at present, by nine of his successors and four archbishops of York. In addition to these there are other *stycas* which cannot be appropriated with certainty, representing, probably, local princes or chieftains. No *stycas* have hitherto been found outside the kingdom of Northumbria, showing that their circulation was limited; but in and about York large numbers have been discovered, and the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society contains

as many as six thousand of these curious little pieces, by far the largest and best collection of them in existence. How was it that, whilst in the south silver pennies were current, copper money of the smallest kind was in use in Northumbria? This is supposed to be due to the prevalence of vast quantities of Roman copper coins in the north, and the idea is that these were melted down and converted into stycas. The silver which they contain, some of them in a large measure, may result from an admixture of Roman *denarii*. It is, I think, very possible that the English put into circulation some of the Roman coins, especially the silvered, and that they obviated in this way the apparent necessity of having a distinct silver coinage of their own. The early Christian races had undoubtedly a great objection to anything of pagan workmanship, but in the Pontifical of Ecgberht, archbishop of York, there is a special form for the consecration of objects found in heathen places. This would be applicable to coins as well as to other things. Instead of melting them down they endeavoured to destroy all their magical power by a prayer of consecration. The coinage of stycas, representing the Roman *minimi*, might arise from a desire to have some money of their own of a fixed value, and that low enough to serve the wants of the poorest household. The coinage of stycas stopped with the Danish capture of York in 867. Hoard after hoard has been discovered, as if their owners buried them on the approach of danger and never returned to recover them. Some ecclesiastic of Hexham concealed his stycas in the churchyard, where he fondly hoped no prowling searcher would discover them. They were found, half a century ago, long after the Dane, whom he dreaded, had passed away.

CHAPTER III

The Danes—Capture of Eoferwic—Danish and English Princes—
 Æthelstan and Brunanburh—Coinage—End of Danish Kings—
 Iorwik governed by Jarls—Population and Art—Siward.

THE first Danish attack on the north was that on Lindisfarne, in 793, which caused inexpressible alarm throughout the whole district. If such a *sedes sacrata* was not spared, what might other places expect? Alcuin mentions, as a kind of portent of this raid, a shower of blood falling from the roof of the minster of York. In the following year the Danes, advancing southwards, endeavoured, but without success, to land at Jarrow and plunder that monastery. The Danish hero, Ragnar Lodbrok, comes now upon the scene, and it has been the fashion to ascribe the fall of York in 867 to the revenge taken by Ivar, son of Ragnar, for the murder of his father by Ælla, king of Northumbria. The famous death-song, as it is called, of Ragnar describes in his own mother-tongue his fearful end, stung to death by snakes, and the Danish poet has described the yet more terrible manner in which Ælla is said to have expiated his cruelty. Romance, in this case, has taken the place of history. The truth is that Ragnar was killed, not in Northumbria, but in Ireland, and Ælla was an Irish prince, not the Northumbrian king. The Old-English authorities are against the death

of Ragnar in Northumbria, whilst the Irish chronicles, and many of the Scandinavian, place it in Ireland, and it was on that account that Ivar, Ragnar's son, attacked Ireland before invading Northumbria. Ragnar has been identified¹ with Turgesius or Thurgils, a great person in the Irish annals, who was slain in 845. After the attempt on Jarrow some trouble was caused in Northumbria by the Danes, who slew King Redulf in 844, but it was not until the year 867 that a really serious attack was made. The aggressors were the men who had been victorious in Ireland, and their leaders were Ivar, or Ingwar, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, and Anlaf (= Aulaf, Olaf), the founder and king of Dublin. Like men resolved to win, they made due preparation before they began. In 866 Ivar and Anlaf made a settlement in East Anglia, and collected horses and equipment for the coming campaign. In the following year they took the field, dividing their forces into two bodies. One of these set sail from Grimsby, or thereabouts, and came up the Humber and the Ouse; the other, crossing the Humber, took the overland route. They both met and became one body at York, which fell into their hands without any great difficulty. There were then two kings in Northumbria, Osbert and Ælla, one for each of the divisions. Osbert was in possession of York, and, according to Gaimar, made a sally upon the Danes, which was unsuccessful, and the conquerors rushed unexpectedly into the city together with the defeated garrison, Osbert falling in the fight. Ælla came up afterwards, and, endeavouring to retake the city, was also slain with the greater part of

¹ Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*.

his army. Such was the capture of Eoferwic. It was a mighty overthrow. There are still traces of it occasionally discovered in the heaps of concealed stycas, associated with masses of burnt wood and charred corn, which excavations disclose. The victorious horde spread far and wide, plundering and destroying as it went. Beyond the Tyne the Danes made a compromise with the English by making an Angle of the name of Ecgberht viceroy, or king, under their rule, and then they streamed back into East Anglia, with a vast booty, leaving Deira desolate. It was about this time, if not in this actual invasion, that the northern monasteries were destroyed, and Christianity seemingly obliterated.

The Danes, probably, left a garrison in York, and returned to the city in 869 from East Anglia. In the following year they concentrated their forces and made a successful attack upon Scotland, but Anlaf fell in battle in 871, and in the next year Ivar, who had succeeded him as king of Dublin, died. The title given to him was 'King of the Norskinen of Ireland and Britain.' On the death of Ivar, his brother Halfdan, and Baegsec, became rulers of the old Deira and Bernicia. Halfdan was slain in Ireland in 876. It was he who divided Northumbria, or, rather, the southern portion of it, among his followers, who took the land into their possession, and created those Danish place-names which in some districts, and especially in east and north Yorkshire, are so frequently found. York itself is full of gates or streets which may be ascribed to this period, whilst Goodramgate points to Guthrum, a well-known Danish chieftain.

After the death of Halfdan, in 876, there were

some fifteen or sixteen Danish kings or princes in Northumbria, with their chief seat at York, sometimes independent of the West Saxon king of England, sometimes in subjection to him. They were men full of restless enterprise. They had to contend, not only with occasional opposition among their fellow-countrymen, but with the increasing power of the English king, which was welding the seven kingdoms by slow degrees into one permanent dominion. Guthred, or Cnut, who was a Christian, acknowledged the authority of Ælfred, and, dying in 896, was buried in York Minster. When the reign of Ælfred ended, in 901, Eadward the Elder, his son, succeeded, and Æthelwald, his cousin, set up a counter-claim, and, failing in the south, was recognized by the local kings of Northumbria as their over-lord. In 905 Æthelwald and Eric the Dane fell in battle against Eadward. In the following year a peace was made between Eadward and the Danish princes, but in 910 hostilities broke out between him and Northumbria. The king fought and won, and then made a peace, which the Danes soon broke. The cause of the breach seems to have been the attempt of Eadward to subject Northumbria to the rule of Mercia, which was immediately resented. A battle took place at Wodensfield in Mercia, which ended in the discomfiture of the Danes. Æthered of Mercia now became the viceroy in Northumbria. He died in 912, and then the Danes re-asserted their independence. Æthered's widow, Æthelflæd, a daughter of Ælfred, attacked them in detail with a noble courage, and won back what had been lost. In 918 she was at York, where the Northumbrians made their submission. But in 923

Regnald, a Danish chieftain, broke in upon York, slaying or driving into exile the most influential citizens ; but he soon submitted to the over-lordship of Eadward. When Æthelstan became sole king, Regnald was deprived of his kingdom, and his brother Sihtric succeeded, to whom Æthelstan gave his sister in marriage. Sihtric embraced Christianity, was baptized, and took up his residence at York. This arrangement lasted only for a short time. The strong hand of Æthelstan was soon felt. After banishing three of the petty kings of Northumbria, he annexed that kingdom to his own, relying on his own power for the future to keep it in subjection. Guthred or Godfrey, one of the banished princes, returned for a while to York, and strove in vain to win over the inhabitants to his side. He fled once more, and Æthelstan took possession of the city, levelling with the ground the castle or fort which the Danes had erected, and portioning out among his followers the booty which the Danish captains had left. The result of Æthelstan's continued successes was a desperate effort to cast him from his throne, made by a combination of various princes and nations. The Scots, the Welsh, the people of Strathclyde, and the Danes in Northumbria and East Anglia, aided by Anlaf, king of Dublin, met Æthelstan in 937 on the fatal field of Brunanburh, where they were utterly routed. A glorious English war-song commemorates the victory. The site of the battle, which was known to Symeon and the early historians, has been forgotten, but in a record of the foundation of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, which Æthelstan established on his return, it is described as near Dunbar, which is probable

enough.¹ One of the Beverley chroniclers speaks of Æthelstan, on his march against the enemy, coming from Lindsey to Beverley, and soliciting there the help of St. John. On his victorious return he comes back to Beverley from York. Symeon expressly says that Æthelstan halted at St. Cuthbert's Church (Chester-le-Street) on his way with his army towards Scotland, and charged his brother Eadmund, if he fell in battle, to bring back his body to be interred there. All this clearly points to some place in the north, and thither those Danes who had come by sea to the Humber would make their way to effect a junction with the Cumbrians and Scots. The conqueror, as he came back, heaped his gifts and privileges upon the great shrines at Chester, Ripon, Beverley, and York.

The death of Æthelstan in 940 caused another revolt in Northumbria. Anlaf, king of Dublin, was made sovereign by the Northumbrians, in opposition to Eadmund, and came to York, moving thence into the south to fight Eadmund. Through the interposition of the two archbishops a compromise was made, resulting in a division of England between the two rivals, Anlaf obtaining not only Northumbria and East Anglia, but a great part of Mercia as well. Anlaf fell in 941, and another Anlaf took his place. Regnald also, who had for some years been the terror and the scourge of France, reappeared on the scene. After a sharp struggle a peace was patched up between the combatants, Anlaf and Regnald receiving Christian baptism, with Eadmund

¹ Symeon (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, cap. xxxiii.) says that Æthelstan went into Scotland, and that the battle was 'apud Weondune, quod alio nomine Ætbrunnanwerc, vel Brunnanbyrig, appellatur.'

for their godfather. Wulfstan, archbishop of York, was on the side of the Danes, being probably a compatriot. The conversion of the Danish princes was a matter, evidently, not of conviction but of policy. In the following year, however, they were disposed to rebel again, and Eadmund drove them out of Northumbria. Eadmund was assassinated in 946, and Eadred succeeded him, receiving the allegiance of Wulfstan and the Northumbrians at Taddenscliff. In 947 they were once more in rebellion, selecting as their king Eric, son of Harold, king of Denmark, who made his way into the north. Eadred, full of vigour, broke into Northumbria, and ravaged it far and wide. After he went homewards the Danes collected an army at York, and followed him, doing much mischief to the rear of his forces. Eadred was infuriated, and was only appeased when Eric was discarded. Two or three other changes and risings took place in the course of a few years, until at last, in 954, Eadred obtained the final submission of Northumbria, which was incorporated in his kingdom. No district in England required peace so much, and no city in England has seen more bloodshed and stranger vicissitudes of fortune than York. The rule of the early Angle and the Dane in Northumbria was marked by little except intrigue and slaughter.

As is usually the case, we must seek in coins the most important illustrations of the history of the time. The Danes suppressed the coinage of stycas in 867, and had no money of their own, either in Ireland or in Denmark itself, by which they could be replaced. The mint in Denmark began first to work about

A.D. 1000, deriving its models from England. The earliest Danish money that is known to exist was struck by Guthred, king of Northumbria, who, as we learn only from his coins, was known by the name of Cnut. They are made from Frankish models. A fortunate discovery of a treasure at Cuerdale in Lancashire, in the year 1840, brought to light a great number of silver pennies of Cnut and some of his successors. The exact significance of several of the legends cannot as yet be fully understood. We are as yet only in the infancy of our knowledge of the coins of Northumbria, and it may be reasonably expected that future revelations will materially increase our acquaintance with them, as well as add to their number. But, in addition to the regal series of coins, a large number of silver pieces, called St. Peter's pennies and St. Edmund's pennies, have been discovered, the Peter's pence bearing the name 'Ebraice civitas' in various forms on the reverse. It is supposed that the St. Edmund's pennies were current in East Anglia, and St. Peter's in Northumbria, the two being probably interchanged. These seem to have been struck in the ninth and tenth centuries. The St. Peter's pennies are not rare, and two small hoards of them have been discovered in and close to York. The inscriptions on some of these pennies are arranged, or blundered, in so strange a manner, that it has been conjectured that there was a design in doing so. The words Scietric, Scuctruc, for instance, may be read either for Sitric or St. Peter. Was this an attempt to conciliate Christians and heathens, so that they might use the same coin without scruple? Or perhaps we have in such pieces an ecclesi-

astical and a lay coin combined, the archbishops of York at the time issuing no particular coins of their own. No one can study the Northumbrian annals in the tenth century without seeing how anxious the Danes often were to conciliate and secure the influence and the goodwill of the Christians in the district.

The fall of the Danish kings of Northumbria was followed by another kind of government, that of earls or jarls. From the year 867, the country north of the Tyne had been under the rule of earls subject to the Danish kings, and these earls were Angles, a great concession by the conquerors to the proclivities of the inhabitants. In 954, the system of rule by earls was introduced at York, and continued for more than a century, the two portions of the kingdom being occasionally under the control of one and the same ruler. In 1013, the successful invasion of Sweyn resulted in the submission of Uchtred the earl and the Northumbrians. When Sweyn died, Cnut, his son, won England with a high hand, and soon made himself sole monarch.

The position of York in all these times of trouble and change from 867 to 1000, or later, was a very conspicuous one. It occupied an unique position, being ruled by a king, or an earl, who was generally a Dane. The Five Burghs in the midlands were fortresses in the first instance, and afterwards commercial cities, protected by peculiar privileges, and bound together by common interests. York, or Iorwik, was fully their peer, being not only the great bulwark of the country north of the Humber, but also a mercantile emporium with a very large population. In an early life of Archbishop Oswald, written in the tenth century, York is

described as a nobly-built city, then in decay through age (and, it might have been added, by ill-usage), but still, with a population of thirty thousand adults, and the haunt of merchants from many lands with their wares, especially Danes. Whether these numbers are minutely accurate or not it is impossible to say, but wherever you go in certain districts of Yorkshire there are traces of Danish settlers. The faces of the people indicate their Danish blood; ¹ village after village owes its origin to a Danish founder; the common speech in the north and east of the county is rich with Danish words; everything points to a vast body of Danish settlers, transmitting, with their blood, their language, their customs, and their temperament.

If the city of York had not been so harried by a long succession of plunderings and burnings, the soil would have yielded more numerous traces of its old Danish masters. Within the last few years a fortunate excavation in Clifford Street has revealed various remains of Danish art—the sweepings from shops, which had been cast away as refuse—such as the fragments of combs in every stage of manufacture; beads, and other articles of glass, which had evidently been made on the spot; amber, wrought and unwrought, in large quantities; jet and bone-work ornamented with interlacing ornaments and runes, with a multitude of other objects, accompanied by the horns of the red-deer, of a size unexampled hitherto in England. These discoveries indicate active commercial enterprise and local industry. The coins of the later kings of England about this time tell the same tale. The York

¹ Wörssaac.

mint was kept in active work, and in execution as well as in number the coins are remarkable. The York moneyers of Æthelred and Cnut were exceedingly numerous, and the same thing may be said about those of Eadward. In 1884, a hoard of silver pennies of this monarch, some 800 in number, was discovered in the city—all of them, with the exception of ten, having been minted at York. Many of the names of the coiners betoken their Danish origin, and their appearance, stretching back for two or three reigns and forward into that of William I., shows the continuity of their office.

All this prosperity went on during the rule of the official earls or jarls, some of whom, such as Uchtred and Siward, were men of renown. The fame of Siward survives in the chronicles and songs of Denmark and England. His gigantic stature and prowess acquired for him the surname of Diger, or the strong one, and although, like most of the Danes, he would be cruel and unscrupulous, he was, on the whole, a just as well as a vigorous ruler. Siward erected a minster at a place called Galmanho, close to York, and dedicated it to St. Olaf, who was canonized in A.D. 1030. When Siward's end approached, the old fire blazed out in the aged warrior. He bade his attendants put his armour once more upon his failing limbs, and so, girt in harness and helm, with sword by his side, with shield in his left hand and battle-axe in his right, the old earl fared forth. He was interred in the church which he had built, where the noble Benedictine abbey of St. Mary once stood.

CHAPTER IV

York under Eadward and Harold—Battle of Fulford—Battle of Stamford Bridge—Insurrections against William—Massacres—William's Revenge—York under William II., Henry I., and Stephen—The Jews and their Destruction—John and Henry III.—Royal Marriages at York—The Barons' War.

ON Siward's death, Eadward the Confessor, on whom the giving away of the earldom devolved, neglected all hereditary claims and bestowed it on his friend and companion, Tostig, the son of Godwine, who was not a Northumbrian at all. This in itself would make the king's choice unpopular. Tostig selected a deputy in Copsige, under whom things might have gone fairly well, but Tostig's own personal rule was one of stern severity. Freebooters were his especial abomination, reminding him no doubt of his own unpleasant experiences on one memorable day among the Italian brigands. He suppressed them with the utmost harshness and vigour. But one act of cruelty led him into others. To get rid of a suspected foe he did not scruple to resort to assassination. Gospatric, a Northumbrian thegn, was slain at Eadward's court at Tostig's instigation, and two other thegns, Gamel the son of Orm and Ulf the son of Dolfin, were treacherously killed in Tostig's own chamber in York by his desire. But the Northumbrians had not become so tame as to overlook

such cruelty. In October 1065, when Tostig, as usual, was hunting in the south with the king, two hundred northern thegns met at York and held a *gemôt* or parliament. They deposed and outlawed Tostig, and chose an earl in his place, Morkere, a son of Ælfgar of Mercia, who accepted the earldom. But, unhappily, they did more than this. They had recourse to the bloodshed which they condemned. They slaughtered a number of Tostig's friends and adherents, and plundered his treasury. Morkere then went to Northampton, where his brother Eadwine met him. The result of this combination was that Eadward practically adopted the decree of the *gemôt* at York, by ordering Tostig to leave England. This step was forced upon the unwilling king, and it has been thought that the shock at being obliged to take it cut short Eadward's days.

Harold succeeded Eadward, but his accession was received with scant favour by the Northumbrian people, a coldness with which Eadwine and Morkere had, probably, much to do. The new king took the best course to turn this reluctance into friendship. Accompanied by Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, he went into the north. An assembly was held at York, in which the persuasive pleadings of Harold did what threats and rough acts could never have effected; they won the willing obedience of the people. Their loyalty was soon put to the test. Tostig, who had retired to the court of Flanders, viewed with no little dislike the accession of his brother Harold, and began to look out for allies and to collect a fleet. In the spring of that eventful year, 1066, Tostig made an attempt on the Isle of Wight and the Kentish coast, but sailed away on the approach of

Harold, and went up the Humber. Eadwine and Morkere were soon upon him, and, weakened by desertions, the invader fled to Scotland. From the court of Malcolm he began to intrigue for fresh alliances, and secured at last the help of Harold Hardrada, king of Norway. The inducement was a promise of the crown of England, whilst he himself was to be his deputy in Northumbria. The bribe was successful, and the alliance was made. Harold came with a large fleet, which bore his family and treasure, as if success was certain, and joined Tostig on the Tyne. They sailed southwards, ravaging the coast as they went, and ascended the Humber and the Ouse. The Northumbrian ships retired before them up the Wharfe, a narrow river, on which only light flat-bottomed vessels could float. The Danish fleet came up the Ouse, and anchored at Riccall. Through the middle of that district, on the left bank of the river, ran what in later days was called the Forest of Ouse and Derwent, filled then with timber which had never felt the axe. But between the forest and the stream there must have been then, as there are now, long ‘ings,’ as they are called, ranges of meadow and pasture land, which would tempt the adventurers to the shore. They left their ships at Riccall under a strong guard, and, setting themselves in array, marched by the side of the stream towards York, some ten or twelve miles distant. Eadwine and Morkere had not been idle, and an army, such as it was, had been gathered together, which streamed out of York against the foe. The battle seems to have taken place in the long meadow-land of Water Fulford, opposite to the present archiepiscopal residence at Bishopthorpe, and

on the neighbouring slope towards the east, which can scarcely be called a bank. The fight was keenly contested, but ended in a complete victory for the invaders, and the earls, with their routed followers, were driven in headlong flight into York. Four days later, on Sunday, September 24, the city surrendered to the conquerors. Harold Hardrada was accepted as king of the Northumbrians, and they promised to assist him in the rest of his enterprise, and gave hostages as a pledge of their goodwill. The slight resistance which the city made has excited some surprise; but it must be remembered that Harold gave hostages to the citizens as well as received them. There was, therefore, a mutual agreement, and a *quid pro quo*.

The number of the hostages given to Harold by the city was one hundred and fifty; more were to come to him from the shire, and they were to be brought to him at Stamford, or Stanford, Bridge, some seven miles to the east of York. But in the meantime a cloud was rising which portended evil for the invaders. Harold of England was in the south, making ready for the approach of the Normans, when the tidings came to him that a Danish fleet and army were menacing York. With instantaneous decision and energy he flew northwards to meet them. He found at Tadcaster the Northumbrian ships which had fled up the Wharfe, and were sheltering, no doubt, under the walls of the old Roman fortified camp. On Monday, September 25, the day after the capitulation, Harold arrived at York. He was greeted with joy by the citizens, but he never paused to rest. Through the city he went with his men in battle array. He had no time to hesitate when

the Norman was close at hand in the south. Harold Hardrada had probably gone on to Stamford Bridge, because there was a Roman fort near, the possession of which would give him the command of a new river. Up this he could bring a detachment of his ships which were lying at Riccall, and a richly-cultivated district would thus be in his power. He was about to return to York to take formal possession of his new kingdom, when, very unexpectedly, the army of his hostile namesake approached. In fiery haste he sent off a messenger to bring up to the rescue the guard which had been left at Riccall, and drew up his own men in array for the approaching fight. The noble Saga in which the Norwegian minstrels sang of what took place that day tell us how Harold, with nineteen comrades, rode out from the English host to parley with the foe. Full of generous sympathies and fraternal pity, the first thought of Harold of England was for Tostig. He was told that he should have his old earldom, and more still, to govern, if only he would engage to be a true man to his brother once more. ‘And what shall Harold of Norway have?’ demanded Tostig. ‘Seven feet of English ground, or as much more as his length requires,’ was Harold’s prompt reply, which has become famous all over the world. Tostig then returned a message of defiance, showing that even for a brother he would never abandon an ally who was risking his life in his cause. The twenty rode away, and then Harold Hardrada asked Tostig who the bold speaker was, and, hearing that he was his foe, said that Harold should never have gone back if he had known who he was. Tostig’s reply showed that fraternal love

had still a place in his heart. ‘If one of us is to die,’ he said, ‘let him kill me, rather than that I should slay him.’ Brave men cannot hate each other.

The fight was long and desperate; it ended in the death of Harold Hardrada and Tostig, and in the complete defeat of their men. For many a long day the tale was told how a stalwart Norwegian took his stand upon the bridge, and, with his own unassisted arm, barred the passage. More than forty of his assailants had perished in the assault before some one crept under the bridge and, through a crevice, pierced him with a spear-thrust. The bridge, therefore, could have been only for footmen, and must have been made of planks. The present bridge was erected about the year 1720. Its predecessor, with the stony ford, which gave the place its name, was a little higher up the stream, just below the water corn-mill, as I have seen in an ancient plan. After the fight the Latin name of the village was *Pons Belli*, from the famous battle-bridge. There was erected where the struggle was fiercest—probably where Harold Hardrada fell—a little chapel dedicated to St. Edmund, that victim of Danish cruelty. The defeat at Stamford Bridge would be regarded by many as the just vengeance of Heaven descending at last upon the treacherous race that slew him.

This victory, which was called the Battle of York, was a decisive one, but Harold was magnanimous even when he could have made his triumph more complete. He suffered the remnant of the Northmen to get away with their ships, binding them by hostages to keep to their own land. He then busied himself with

the reorganisation of Yorkshire, and sat down at last to keep the feast by which a victory was celebrated. '*Surgit amari aliquid!*' In the midst of the revelry there strode into the hall the bearer of evil tidings. William the Norman had landed with his army on the coast of Sussex. With the same hot haste with which Harold had come did he return. With an unconquerable spirit, he went forth to meet the invader and to fight his last battle.

The Northumbrian forces were not at Senlac, or Hastings, but were advancing southward under Eadwine and Morkere, when the great battle took place. They moved leisurely enough when the struggle was pending, but as soon as they knew the result the two earls moved with all speed on London, in the hope of succeeding to the throne. Eadgar was the national choice, and England demanded another fight with William, but Eadwine and Morkere, in sullen and unpatriotic indifference, made success impossible by going back with their forces. William soon found, as others also discovered, that they were not to be relied upon, and adroitly contrived to retain them about his court, where they could do little mischief. They were still the official earls of Mercia and Yorkshire. At last, when they were allowed to visit their earldoms, in the summer of 1068, they broke into rebellion. A very formidable combination was made. The Welsh cast in their lot with the insurgents; Gospatric, the earl of Northumberland, rose with his people. Eadgar Ætheling was placed at the head of the movement, and Archill, Mærleswegen, and many other chiefs, were on his side. The whole of the north was in a flame. The city of

York was vehemently excited. Many of the citizens forsook their houses and lived in tents, training themselves in martial exercises, to be ready for every emergency. William would neither be hurried nor daunted, and went on quietly with his pacificatory measures in the south until he was ready to take the north in hand. And then, one after another, his enemies began to make their peace. Eadwine and Morkere crept back into the shelter of the Norman court; Gospatric and Eadgar retired to Scotland, and afterwards to Denmark. The leaders fled, but the popular discontent remained. To check it, in one way or another, William made his way into the north. Before he reached York a deputation from the citizens arrived, bringing with them the keys of the city and hostages for their good behaviour, after the fashion of the time. The king was to all appearance appeased, but relied on more trusty safeguards than promises. He proceeded at once to erect a castle. He selected what was probably the site of the old Danish fortress which Æthelstan dismantled, a commanding position which dominated the tongue of land at the junction of the Ouse and Foss. It was the scene afterwards of the massacre of the Jews in 1190, and thereon, in an after-day, Robert de Clifford erected the fort, or tower, which still bears his name. Into his new castle William threw a garrison of five hundred picked men, who were under three commanders, Robert Fitz-Richard, Gilbert of Ghent, and William Malet, the sheriff of the county. Then he went southwards, but not before he had received the submission of Archill and

his son, and Æthelwine, bishop of Durham, who was at the same time the spokesman of Malcolm of Scotland.

There was a short breathing time, and then the revolt was renewed. The most fiery spirits among the disaffected English were at Durham, where they rose in rebellion, and slew Robert Comin, William's new earl of Northumberland. Durham sent on the revolt to York. The citizens took up arms and killed Robert Fitz-Richard and many of his men. And, not content with that, they sent a message to Eadgar in Scotland, inviting him to be the leader in a new struggle to break off the foreign yoke. Eadgar came with a goodly band of exiles at his feet, Gospatric and Mærleswegen, and all the men that they could muster. William Malet, who was in command for William, sent messengers in hot haste to his master, telling him that he should be compelled to surrender unless help came immediately. William was at hand even before it was known that he was coming. He fell upon the besiegers in their trenches and made short work of them, killing or capturing many, and driving the rest into headlong flight. After this he plundered the city. To make the place more secure, he erected another fortress of wood on an eminence called Bale, or Beacon, Hill, immediately opposite to the castle. It was built in eight days, and was committed to the charge of William Fitz-Osbern. No sooner had the king left the city than the courage of his foes revived. They made an onset upon William Fitz-Osbern, which he was able at once to check and to punish. And then, by a kind of happy prescience, he went into the south.

There were far too many elements of discord in the north for the continuance of peace. In the autumn of 1069 a Danish fleet brought to the shores of England a great number of discontented people and refugees. After touching without success at several tempting points, it came up the Humber in the month of September. Every person seemed to be present who could throw the charm of influence over old Northumbria. Eadgar, Gospatric, Archill, Waltheof, all were there. The news was brought to William in Gloucestershire, and he sent a message to York bidding his soldiers stand firm and call him to the rescue immediately if they were in peril. William Malet and Gilbert of Ghent told him in reply that they could hold the two forts for a year. At this conjuncture the peacemaker, Archbishop Ealdred, died of grief, heart-broken at the troubles which seemed to be impending. As the fleet came up the Ouse the whole of Northumbria hastened to assist it. The Norman garrisons were obliged to take the most vigorous measures for their own defence. Among these was the burning of the houses in the precincts which might shelter their assailants. The flames unhappily spread, the city was soon on fire, and the minster itself fell a victim to the conflagration. The fire had been blazing for two days when the invaders, stalking through the smouldering ruins, closed in upon their foes. On opposite banks of the river the two forts stood out right across their path. The defenders could see and hold easy communication with each other. Below them ran the river, on the brink of which were afterwards, and probably then, two water-towers, between which a boom would be drawn across the stream

to keep the ships from ascending. The two garrisons seem to have made by joint arrangement a sally upon the assailing forces. On both sides of the water they were unsuccessful, and three thousand Normans are said to have perished, the axe of Waltheof having, as the legend tells, the greatest share in the slaughter, striking down foe after foe with unerring precision. Before they rushed out, the defenders seem to have prepared themselves for the worst. Upon the platform on which Bale Hill looks down, which was probably within the enclosure of the fort itself, there have been discovered, especially within the last few years, several deposits of money, as if they had been purposely concealed before their owners rushed out into the fight. Two or three purses held silver pennies of the earliest coinages of William, whilst in a little vessel of clay was discovered a still greater prize, many hundreds of the silver coins of Eadward. The owners never came back to reclaim them. Nay, they may have died fighting on the very platform on which their scanty wealth was found. Spear-heads and broken fragments of bronze and iron, unearthed on the spot, are significant of a struggle. A few empty comb-cases of bone were found lying where they had been thrown away by their owners on that day of slaughter.

William's two commanders were captured and spared, with a scanty number of others. The rest had fallen in the fight. The forts were dismantled, and the whole city was in ruins. And then, as if the expedition was without any permanent aim or object, or from dread of the vengeance of the king, the Danes sailed away with their booty in their ships, and the Yorkshiremen,

alarmed at their own success, slipped away to their homes.

William was in the west of England when he heard of the destruction of York. He swore "by God's splendour" that he would not leave one of his enemies alive, and hastened northwards at once to carry his threats into execution. In Lincolnshire he found and fell upon the Danish contingent, killing many. The rest regained their ships, and won safety by pushing across the Humber to its Yorkshire shore. After some delays he led his men towards York, urged on by the rumour that the insurgents intended to keep their Christmas in that city as an evidence of their contemptuous security. When William reached York, every enemy had fled before his much-dreaded presence. His first thought was the reparation of the ruined castles; his second, revenge. The king himself went forth with his troops on their cruel errand, and was personally responsible for what happened. Plundering, slaughter, burning, all the horrors of war were let loose upon town and village and homestead over a vast tract of country; and so thorough and systematic was the devastation, that for nine consecutive years the land between York and Durham was untilled, and many of the wretched few who had escaped the sword perished from hunger. No one but a hard, unrelenting man could have brought about so much misery, and the recollection of it wrung an expression of remorse from him afterwards when he lay upon his deathbed. It is melancholy to be told how William came back to the city which had been ruined, with war still in his heart, to keep at Christ-tide the great festival of peace. There was no minster,

no church, probably, left to worship in; the army lay outside the walls, because all shelter inside was destroyed. But an ordinary observance of the feast was not enough for William. He would make it a commemoration of his triumphs. The rich vessels and garniture of his table, the emblems of royalty, and the crown of England itself were brought from Winchester to York, and there, amid sights and sounds of untold sorrow, he kept the high festival of Christian joy on the great mid-winter day.

After this we hear nothing more of William at York. The resuscitation of the city and the district would be entrusted to the sheriffs; the rebuilding and replenishing of the minster and churches fell to Thomas, the first Norman archbishop. But yet another blow injured the ill-fated place in 1075. A party of Danish pirates made a raid upon York, and plundered the reviving minster. They were caught before they could get away out of the country, and every marauder died.

In 1088 William Rufus, according to the chronicle of St. Mary's, came with a large train to York, and visiting that abbey gave it more ground for its enlargement. In the following year he laid the foundation stone of the new church; he also built a church or chapel for the Hospital of St. Peter. The king must also have been in York in 1095, when he went into Northumberland to crush Robert of Mowbray. On one or other of his two recorded visits he ordered the rebuilding or restoration of the castle.

In 1136 Henry, prince of Scotland, met Stephen at York, and did homage to him for the earldom of Huntingdon, receiving from that king the earldoms of

Doncaster and Carlisle as well. Stephen is also said to have made some additions to the buildings of St. Peter's Hospital, and to have changed its name to St. Leonard's, by which title it was henceforward known. In 1138 David of Scotland made a very formidable incursion into England in behalf of the Empress Matilda, and for his own interests. Stephen was busy in the south, and Archbishop Thurstan, acting in behalf of his country, summoned the great barons of the district to a meeting at York. It seemed almost doubtful whether any adequate resistance could have been made, until the arrival of Bernard of Baliol, whom Stephen had sent with a large force of cavalry, gave the waverers courage. A second meeting was held at York, where an army was mustered, which went northwards, and utterly routed the invaders at the Battle of the Standard near Northallerton. The chief honours of the field are assigned to Archbishop Thurstan, although he was not present.

Soon after Easter, 1142, at the urgent request of Matilda, Stephen visited York again. He brought with him a large body of men, intending to check the unruly barons and reduce the country to order; but a severe attack of illness obliged him to give up his design, and to disband his troops. He was able, however, to prevent a tournament, or appeal to arms, which William, earl of Albemarle, had appointed at York against Alan, earl of Richmond. At the same time he made peace between the prebendaries of Southwell and William Paynel and William Peverel, who had made an assault upon that little town.

In the ecclesiastical controversies of the time the

city took a strong part. It heard much of the struggle between William Cumin and William of St. Barbe for the see of Durham. It was so vehemently opposed to Archbishop Murdac and his harshness that he was alarmed, and never came near the place until he returned for his burial. York was, as a rule, on the side of Stephen. He came to the city in 1149, and pleased the citizens by giving over into their hands for destruction a castle or fort which had been erected at Wheldrake, between York and Selby. A bribe was necessary to obtain that boon, but any bribe would not have been too great to rescue the inhabitants from the cruelties and blackmail of a neighbouring baron. Richard Malebys endeavoured to reconstruct this fortress in the time of King John, but the citizens of York were again able to bring it to the ground. In the year 1154 Stephen destroyed a castle which Philip of Colville had erected for the same purpose at Drax, beside Selby. It would have effectually barred the navigation between York and the Humber.

Henry II. seems to have been five times at York—viz. in 1155, 1158, 1163, 1175, and 1180—too seldom, if it had not been that the almost constant presence of Archbishop Roger at the court kept the king in touch with the great northern city and shire. The most important of these visits was that in 1175. Henry was accompanied on that occasion by his son Henry, and met in York William, king of the Scots, with the great men of his country. The treaty, which had been made at Falaise during William's imprisonment, was then formally confirmed. William and his chief men did homage to Henry, and surrendered five of his best

castles. As a token of submission, and that he would henceforward be the King of England's man, he laid upon the high altar in the minster his helmet, spear, and saddle, which were preserved there in the time of Knighton, the historian. The high altar was a favourite place for such relics. At Westminster was preserved the famous coronation stone; at Durham the black rood of Scotland with the banners of the Scottish nobles, which were captured at Neville's Cross.

The reign of Richard I. is remarkable for a terrible massacre of the Jews. The Jews, possibly, found their way to York at a very early period. In the eighth century Archbishop Ecgberht forbade any Christian to become a Jew, or to join them at their banquets. I have also the authority of a well-known Jewish historian for stating that at the time when York was famous for its efforts in the cause of education, the Jews, then a numerous and wealthy body in the city, had an academy of their own and a noble library for its use, as if in rivalry of that which Alcuin had helped to collect. The Jewish quarter, or Jewry, in York, was a street, until recently called Jubbergate, running from Coney Street into St. Sampson's Square; whilst their burial-place was named Jewbury, which lay by the side of the Foss, very near to the present County Hospital. In the time of Henry II., Joses, and Benedict, the son of Aldrete, were two of the most noted Jewish money-lenders and bankers in the north of England, Joses residing in a fine mansion in Coney Street, on the site of the late 'George' Inn, Benedict living in a less aristocratic neighbourhood, Spen Lane. When Richard I. was crowned in London, the Jews, against the king's order, went with the rest to present their gifts to the

new sovereign. A blow was struck by a Christian, and an onslaught was made upon the Jews, among whom were the two York bankers. Benedict was terribly injured, and was carried as he was into a church and baptized, abjuring his religion by constraint. He was so much hurt that he died at Northampton on his way home. Joses also was severely handled, but got back to York at last, reserved for a still more cruel fate.

An anti-Semitic movement now ran like a wave over England, partly due to religious causes, partly to a desire to be set free from inconvenient debts. It touched Lincoln, and, about March 1190, found its way to York. Richard, after what had occurred at his coronation, had specially taken the Jews under his charge. But when he went abroad a plot was hatched against the Jews in York. A number of people plundered the house lately occupied by Benedict in Spen Lane, and slew his widow and children. Alarmed at this outbreak, the other Jews, under the guidance of Joses, conveyed a vast quantity of treasure to the king's castle for protection, and thither Joses himself, and many others, betook themselves for safety. Those who were caught outside were either slain or baptized by force. The castle was then the object of attack. It happened that the governor, or warden, had left it for a time, and, when he wished to re-enter it, the timid Jews shrank from admitting him. Upon this the warden and the sheriff of the county ordered an assault upon the fortress. A hermit, who ought to have known better, urged the people on, and was killed by a stone from the wall. The capture of the place was unavoidable, and, aware of their impending fate, a

number of the Jews, setting fire to the buildings, killed their relatives, and then slew themselves in the night-time. Nearly five hundred perished. The survivors promised to accept Christianity, but were treacherously slain as they left their place of defence. The assailants then rushed to the minster, and demanding the Jewish bonds which were there for preservation, committed them to the flames in the middle of the church itself. Vengeance soon reached some of the perpetrators of this horrible crime. The king sent into the north his chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, who arrived with a body of troops in the beginning of May. He directed the castle to be put into proper order and repair. The citizens were fined and the sheriff dismissed. Three Yorkshire barons, Robert of Ghent, Robert of Turnham, and Richard Malebys, who had been concerned in the slaughter, fled from justice, but were punished by the confiscation of their lands and property.

It is interesting to find that York had its share in raising the ransom of Richard I. A cross of gold, which Archbishop Roger had given to the minster to serve as a reliquary, was pawned for that purpose by the dean and chapter, and was afterwards redeemed by them.

The itineraries of John show that he paid twelve or fourteen visits to York between 1199 and 1216. He came for the first time soon after his accession, and fined the citizens 100*l.* for not coming to meet him. In 1201 the king was again in the city, and a reconciliation was brought about between him and his brother Geoffrey, the archbishop. The feud, however, soon broke out again, and produced much turmoil and

unhappiness. There is very little known about John's proceedings and journeys in the north. In 1216, when John had so many of the barons against him, York and the shire were brought over by Robert de Ros, Peter de Brus, and Richard de Percy, to the side of Louis, the French prince, who was then spoiling the eastern counties. But John recovered them by a hasty and vigorous march, and the danger passed over. He was coming into the county again when he fell sick and died in Lincolnshire.

In the month of June 1221 a stately ceremonial took place at York. The young Henry III., with Pandulf the legate, and a goodly company of nobles, met Alexander II. of Scotland, who was married in the minster to the Princess Joan, Henry's sister. At the same time Hubert de Burgh found a wife in Margaret, one of the Scottish princesses.

In 1229 and 1230 Henry spent his Christmas at York. In the latter year Alexander of Scotland was his guest, and for three days the splendid court kept high revelry, Henry scattering his gifts with a wasteful hand. The two kings met again at York in September 1237, when peace was made between England and Scotland. In 1244 a war between the two countries very nearly arose through some alleged breach of the treaty of 1237 on the part of Alexander. Henry passed hastily through York and assembled an army at Newcastle, whither his brother-in-law, eager to fight, was advancing with his troops. It was only by the most urgent pleading of the English nobility, and particularly of the Archbishop of York, with Alexander, that the combat was averted.

Alexander died in 1249, and three years afterwards York, famous for royal marriages, witnessed another wedding. Henry found a wife for his nephew, young Alexander of Scotland, in his daughter Margaret, then a young lady twelve years old. It was the third Christmas that Henry had kept in the city, and this, of 1252, was the most conspicuous of all. The great men of both countries were present, whilst with Alexander came the queen-dowager of Scotland, attended by a goodly array of her French compatriots. With a wise precaution, the Scotchmen had a street in the city appropriated to themselves, but even this separation could not prevent assaults and bloodshed. On Christmas-day Henry knighted his nephew, and on the morrow the marriage was celebrated with vast pomp and the most lavish display. The banquets were prodigality itself; Archbishop Gray, who was constrained to play the host, giving the most sumptuous of the entertainments, and spending over the royal visit the very large sum of four thousand marks.

In the Barons' War the great men of the north, with very few exceptions, took the king's part. His chief opponents in Yorkshire were Henry de Lacy, Baldwin Wake, and John d'Eyville. The castle of York was put into proper repair, and was held in behalf of the king. The quietude of the north was probably due to the ecclesiastical influence which was exerted in Henry's behalf. No king had truer and wiser servants than Walter Gray and Walter Giffard, archbishops of York.

The parliament of 1265 was, perhaps, the first free assembly of the representatives of the nation. In the

writs to the cities and boroughs, York and Lincoln are the only two mentioned by name. This is not indicative of any pre-eminence possessed by the two, they were simply the types of the rest.

The year 1265 was also noteworthy for an outbreak between the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary's and their retainers and the citizens. The subject of the contention was privileges and boundaries. The quarrel broke out every now and then, until Archbishop Thoresby brought it to an end; but on this occasion there was considerable bloodshed, and the suburb of Bootham is said to have been destroyed by fire. One great and just grievance was the privilege of sanctuary possessed by Marygate, a purlieu of the abbey, which became a veritable Alsatia to any criminal in the city. It was at this very time that the noble fabric of St. Mary's was rising from the ground in all its remarkable beauty.

CHAPTER V

Edward I. at York and the Expulsion of the Jews—Death of Eleanor—Parliament at York—Thomas of Brotherton—Edward II. at York with his Court—Battle of Myton—Thomas of Lancaster—The Hainaulters—Marriage of Edward III. and Philippa—Battle of Neville's Cross—Richard II. at York, and his Gifts to the City and Minster.

EDWARD I. was in York for three days in August 1280. He was there also on January 6, 1283-4, when the remains of St. William were translated, with great pomp, into their new shrine. Queen Eleanor was there with her husband. Henceforward St. William became one of Edward's patrons, and the wardrobe-books record various gifts of jewels to decorate the shrine. A few months before this the right arm of David, the Welsh prince, with his ring upon one of the fingers, was sent to York to be hung upon one of the towers, as a warning against rebellion. In 1291 another Welshman, Rees-ap-Meredith, was condemned and executed in the city, and his body remained three days and nights upon the gallows on Knavesmire.

The year 1290 witnessed the expulsion of the Jewish community from York. After the terrible disaster of 1190 they had recovered their position in the city and had amassed much wealth, from which Henry III., generally without money, was unable to keep his hands.

Aaron of York was one of the wealthiest among the Jews of England. He was a son of that Joses who fell in 1190, and was appointed *presbyter* among the Israelites, just as Leo, also of York, and Samuel his son after him, was *episcopus*—two titles seemingly borrowed from Christianity. In 1243 Henry, who was never scrupulous in money matters, is said to have defrauded Aaron of four marks of gold and four thousand marks of silver. Leo, the bishop, lived in Coney Street, and at his death, in 1244, his son Samuel paid a kind of succession duty, amounting to seven thousand marks, to the king. The Jews, without doubt, acquired wealth by terrible usury, but they paid very heavily for their success. As soon as Edward became king he took severe measures against these money-lenders, throwing all his influence into the hands of the foreign banking firms. In 1290 all the Jews who remained in England were deported, and much of their property was confiscated. On April 4, 1291, the king granted the cemetery of the Jews near York, known by the name of Jewbury, to Robert de Newland and Alice his wife.

On November 28, 1290, Queen Eleanor died on her way northward, at Harby, in Lincolnshire. The exact day is recorded in the register of the dean and chapter of York, who ordered the sacrist to ring a full peal, or knell, in her memory upon the bells of the minster. The king wrote a pathetic letter from Harby to the archbishop, telling him of his great loss. That prelate informed the king, in the summer of the following year, that he had granted an indulgence of forty days for the soul of his royal mistress, and that the large number of 47,528 masses had been said or sung for her in his diocese. In

Lent 1291 the king offered two baudkins on the high altar of York, and Prince Edward a third, in remembrance of the queen, whilst, on July 10, the king sent thither from Scotland, by the hand of the archbishop, a chasuble, alb, and amice of green, decorated with rich embroidery.

In 1297, Edward summoned a parliament to meet at York at Whitsuntide 1298, to deliberate on the expedition to Scotland. This was the fullest and largest body that had been gathered together in England. There were no ecclesiastics summoned, but the House of Commons comprised seventy representatives of counties, and one hundred and fifty-four of boroughs, and it seems to be pretty certain that they were chosen by the uncontrolled voice of the electors. An aid was granted to the king, towards which the Archbishop of York and his clergy contributed one-fifth of their income, a very large sum. The object of the aid was the equipment of an army for Scotland, under John, earl of Warren. Conscious of the probable length of the war, and wishing to have the great officials of the state near to him, Edward transferred to York from London the courts of the Exchequer and the Bench, which continued in the city for seven years. The change was not welcome to the officers of the courts, and some of the records were lost, but for the public convenience the removal was a wise measure. The old position of York under the Roman emperors seemed to be restored. It became the headquarters of the army for Scotland, and was full of bustle and display.

On June 1, 1300, Margaret of France, Edward's second wife, bore to him her first child. Preparations

had been made for her reception and residence in the archbishop's quiet castle at Cawood on the Ouse, and the queen must have been on her way thither, but was unable to reach it. The child was born at Brotherton, a little village on the Aire, and was known henceforward as Thomas of Brotherton. The king was at Selby when the happy news arrived, and, as a mark of his joy, distributed large benefactions among the religious communities in the neighbourhood. His chief gift in York was to the Friars Preachers. They had obtained intelligence of what was impending, and so thanksgivings for the birth of the prince had been preceded by their prayers for the safe delivery of the royal mother.

From this time onwards for a number of years, York was at the zenith of its influence in mediæval times. The wardrobe-books and state-papers shew the presence in the city of many of the chief men of the country. It became a great camp and arsenal, and wealth came pouring in from every side. The windows of the minster still blaze with the armorial bearings of the barons who assisted the dean and chapter to up-rear and decorate their magnificent fabric. Among the prebendaries were men who occupied high positions, not only in the English, but in many a foreign court as well. It was the long presence in the city of all this wealth and taste and culture which made York at this period one of the chief art-centres of Europe.

With the accession of Edward II., in 1307, a sad and turbulent period in English history begins, in which York was greatly concerned. The king was there in September, 1307. One of the first results of the in-

considerate recall of Piers de Gaveston was the cruel arrest of the treasurer of England, Walter de Langton, bishop of Lichfield, whilst he was conveying the body of the deceased king towards Westminster, and the seizure, not only of the national money entrusted to him, but of his own personal means as well. The bishop was brought as a prisoner to York, with which he had an hereditary connexion, and where he had been one of the prebendaries in the minster, as well as master of St. Leonard's Hospital. The disgrace and the injustice of the arrest were acutely felt by the clergy generally, and, in 1311, Clement V. wrote to Edward, begging that he would release the imprisoned bishop from York castle where he was lying.

On October 18, 1309, a meeting of the Council took place in the city, resulting in a summons for a parliament to be held there in the following February. None but the members of the Upper House were called, and little is known of their deliberations. There were, however, many remonstrances at the conduct of the king and his minions, and demands for justice and redress.

Edward spent the Christmas of 1311 and the earlier months of the following year at York with Gaveston, and, to replenish their empty coffers, plundered the city and the neighbourhood. When the supply was exhausted they went to Newcastle-on-Tyne for more. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, went after them with a large force, to arrest the favourite, but he and the king got away from Tynemouth by sea to Scarborough. Gaveston threw himself into the castle, whilst Edward hastened to York for help; but, before assistance

arrived, he was obliged to surrender, and was speedily put to death.

The year 1314 saw the disgraceful defeat at Bannockburn on June 24. Edward escaped from the field and never rested until he got back to York, a place to which he seems to have been greatly attached, and where, during some years of his reign, he spent the greater part of his time. With a hope of retrieving the disaster, a parliament was summoned to meet on September 9. Large numbers of members of both houses were present, and so many of the clergy that parliament and convocation seemed to be combined. The gathering together of money and men was the chief subject of their deliberations.

The wardrobe-book for the year 1316 shows the king and his suite residing in the house of the Friars Minors, where he was joined by the queen in the month of September. This was the customary residence of the early kings, and, as it was close to the castle, it enjoyed the protection of the royal fortress, into which they could easily escape in any case of necessity. The buildings of the friary must have been constructed on a large scale for the accommodation of the guests. They lay in an enclosure of their own between the lower end of Castlegate and the Ouse, where a river barrier, called the Friars' Wall, is the sole remnant of their presence. There is an entry in the wardrobe-book of 1316 of a payment of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the king to John de Thurgenthorpe, the warden of the house, towards the building of this river wall. This sum would go a great way towards its erection. We learn also that the king paid the friars 40*s.* per week during

his stay. This is said to be for alms; it was really for rent. The royal party provided for their own maintenance. The fare of the friars would not have been welcome at the king's table. It is interesting to know that the king brought with him on this visit the Countess of Cornwall, who was the widow of his old favourite, Gaveston.

During the next three years Edward spent much time in York, and on September 18, 1318, another parliament met there, and was in session for fifty-one days. Good work was done at these deliberations. The Statute of York, as it was called, relating to the administration of justice, was passed, and some constitutional changes were made to the advantage of the country. The king also pardoned the Earl of Lancaster and his adherents. Before the parliament met, a muster of all able-bodied men between twenty and sixty, from Yorkshire and several neighbouring counties, was made at York, and 5,000 men-at-arms were gathered together. The need was great. The North Riding was subjected almost every year to some Scottish inroad. On one occasion the town of Ripon escaped plundering by paying a ransom of a thousand marks. Misery and discontent were on every side. The reign of law seemed to be at an end, and parties of freebooters and marauders ravaged the country and committed outrages in every direction.

During the first half of the year 1319 the king was continuously at York. In the month of May there was a short session of parliament there, when funds were granted for the carrying on of the Scottish war. In the summer the king and the Earl of Lancaster went

northwards. A little later than this the Rolls of the Exchequer, the Pipe Rolls, and the Domesday Survey were sent to York in carts, and there seemed to be every promise of quiet. This hope was quickly dispelled. A large body of Scots, amounting to 15,000 men, under the Earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas, turned the flank of the invading army, and rushed into Yorkshire, taking an immense booty. They hurried up to the very gates of the city, burning the suburbs, and nearly capturing the queen, who fled precipitately southwards. When the tumult was over, Sir Edward Darel, a member of the royal household, was arrested and carried to London on a charge of endeavouring to throw the queen into the enemy's hands. To face the present peril, Archbishop Melton and the Bishop of Ely got together with all speed the *posse comitatus*, a very motley array, eked out by many who had no knowledge of arms. A little army, numbering 10,000 men, marched out, and found the Scots on October 12 at Myton, a village on the Swale. The invaders, as might be expected, had a very easy victory. There was a tremendous slaughter and rout, the night saving the remnant from utter destruction. Nicholas Fleming, the mayor, was killed, and the prelates themselves had a very narrow escape. The archbishop's crozier was found afterwards in a ditch, and he lost his plate and many things besides which had been needlessly and ostentatiously carried out with the army. In ridicule of the many clerical warriors who put in an appearance on the battle-field, the fight was contemptuously called the White Battle, or the Chapter of Myton.

Edward was in York very soon after the disaster,

and remained there until the close of the year, holding another parliament in the city in the following January. After this the Exchequer and its documents were sent back to London, returning, in the spring of 1322. The king was but little in the city in 1320 and 1321. In the latter year he had the great satisfaction of ordering the execution of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and his adherents. Three of his followers, John de Mowbray, Roger de Clifford, and Joscelin de Dayvill, were put to death at York as an example. The death of their favourite earl, the champion of liberty and popular rights, was a great blow to the people of the north, who regarded him as a martyr.

The greater part of 1322 was spent by Edward at York. He was nearly captured by the Scots, who made another raid into Yorkshire. He was surprised among the hills, and escaped with difficulty from Rievaulx, leaving behind him his treasure and plate for the marauders. John, earl of Richmond, not so fortunate as his master, fell into their hands, with many of his men. After the summer of 1323 Edward left York, never to return.

Edward III. was in York soon after his father's death, arriving there in May, 1327. A large force was already there awaiting his orders, and he directed the fortifications of the city to be strengthened, which had been taken in hand by his father and grandfather. In the month of June Edward was joined by a large body of foreign mercenaries under Sir John of Hainault, who made themselves peculiarly objectionable. The king was in the house of the Friars Minors in Castlegate, and there, on Trinity Sunday, he held his court, at which

more than five hundred knights are said to have been present, fifteen of whom received their honours on that day. The queen-mother with her ladies occupied a different part of the same building, and there was to be a dance with high revelry that night, when a disturbance broke out in the streets between the archers from Lincolnshire and Northants and the Hainaulters. Leland says that it was caused by some insults offered by the foreigners to the wives and daughters of the citizens. The banqueters rushed out, and found a multitude of archers in the streets shooting in every direction. Leland says that seven or eight hundred of the combatants were slain, the Hainaulters being the chief victims. Joshua Barnes states that eighty archers were buried together in the now disused churchyard of St. Clement, in Fossgate. The parish of St. Nicholas in Ousegate is said to have been destroyed by fire. This was more probably the parish of that name outside Walmgate Bar, as the fray was chiefly in that direction. The king appointed a commission of five persons to inquire into the matter. There was much risk of another outbreak, as evil passions were aroused, and the lives of the remaining Hainaulters were in great peril. Large numbers of troops poured into the place and suburbs, until 40,000 men were collected. Jehan le Bel, an eye-witness, bestows the highest praise on the bountiful provision that was made for them, and the reasonable prices that were asked. After a six-weeks' residence, Edward went into the north, leaving the queen-mother and her children behind him. After a short campaign he returned, and directed the Courts of the Exchequer and the Bench to be once more transferred from London to York.

On January 24, 1328, Edward was married in York minster by Archbishop Melton and Bishop Hotham, to Philippa, daughter of William, count of Hainault. The king was the elder of the two, being then only fifteen, but such early marriages were the fashion of the age. The alliance was in every way a happy one. Their second son, William, was born in 1336, and died in the month of March. In the wardrobe-book for the year there is entered the payment of 142*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* for expenses in connexion with the child's death and funeral, at Hatfield, Pontefract, and York. Three cloths of gold, diapered, were laid over the tomb. The child was known as William of Hatfield, his birthplace being, probably, the little village of that name not far from Doncaster. The only royal monument in York minster commemorates this little child, who was interred there. It is in the north aisle of the choir, and represents a boy, carved in alabaster, arrayed as a knight in armour, with a soft mantle thrown over his shoulders. His head is uncovered, and has been lovingly supported in the hands of two compassionate angels. The wall behind the exquisite figure is powdered with the *planta genist*, the special emblem of the child's illustrious race. When Queen Philippa died in 1369, her richly-embroidered bed was sent as a memorial of her to the minster. Before two years had expired the sacrist had cut it up, and converted it into copes and other vestments for the use of the church. But, perhaps, it was intended that he should do so.

On seven different occasions between 1328 and 1337 there was a meeting of the parliament, or a council, at York, and the Courts of the Exchequer and

the Bench seem to have been in the city the greater part of that time. It was the urgency and the danger of the relations with Scotland which made these consultations necessary. The king and queen were frequently here, and resided at the Friars Minors.

In 1346, when Edward was warring victoriously in France, the Scots made a serious invasion of the northern counties. They were met and thoroughly defeated at Neville's Cross, near Durham, and their captured king was brought through York into the south. The chief organizer of the English army was Archbishop Zouche. At York lay Queen Philippa, doing everything she could for the safety of the kingdom. The imaginative Froissart represents her, like Elizabeth at Tilbury, leading the van of her army at Durham, and animating the soldiery with a speech which he invents. But she did not leave York at that time.

The year 1348 was famous for a great flood, in which the four roads near St. John's Church in Micklegate were under water. In the following year the fearful pestilence broke out which desolated the whole country. It has been stated that a third of the Yorkshire parochial clergy died of the pestilence. Whether this was the case or not, there is abundance of evidence to show that the visitation was one of unexampled severity.

In 1379 a remarkable occurrence took place off the French coast. The barge, or state ship, belonging to the city of York, which had been lent to the king on his demand, was lost in a Breton harbour. With a noble courage it had dashed in among the enemy's vessels,

and could not get back. The Bretons sprang on board, and all at once the ship went to the bottom, carrying with it captives and captors. A hole had been made in the vessel during the engagement, and it was lost. All honour to the York crew which fought and died so nobly!

Towards the close of 1385 a sad event took place at Bishopthorpe. A quarrel began between the retainers of Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, and those of Sir Ralph Stafford, the son and heir of the Earl of Stafford. One of Holland's servants was killed by an arrow, and when his master heard the news, he rushed wildly out of his lodging, eager for revenge. Young Stafford, who had nothing to do with the brawl, unhappily came in his way, and was at once killed. The slayer fled to Beverley for sanctuary, and the king deprived him of his offices and lands, and banished him from the kingdom. Holland's mother, the Fair Maid of Kent, was so troubled at the disaster that she took to her bed, and died in four or five days. He was afterwards pardoned at the intervention of the Duke of Lancaster.

In 1389 Richard II. was at York, and presented his sword to William Selby, the mayor, to be borne before him and his successors. This weapon has, unhappily, been lost. The city, however, possesses two ancient swords which are put to the same use. One of these was left in England by the Emperor Sigismund, and was given to the citizens in 1439 by Master Henry Hauslape, canon of Windsor; the other was the gift of Sir Martin Bowes, lord mayor of London, in the reign of Elizabeth.

Richard spent the latter half of 1392 in York, and summoned a parliament for October 14, but it never met. In the same year the Court of the King's Bench was brought to York for a short while, for the good of the place, at the intervention of Archbishop Arundel. Richard honoured the citizens also by presenting a silver mace to the mayor and a cap of maintenance to his sword-bearer. He was here again in 1395, and added to the relics in the minster the bones of one of the Innocents. The dean and chapter placed them in a shrine of silver ornamented with beryls. This was carried, on the Innocents' Day, by the choristers in the middle of the procession when the boy-bishop was holding his festival.

In the political life of this reign the church of York was greatly interested. Archbishop Neville was one of the king's partisans, and was obliged to flee for his life to Flanders, where he died in humble life at Louvain, in 1389. Archbishop Arundel rose when Neville fell, and was driven afterwards into exile because he dared to be independent. He came back with Henry of Lancaster to greater honours than he enjoyed before. Thomas Haxey, a prebendary and one of the representatives of the dean and chapter in parliament, dared to stand up in his place, in 1397, and urge the necessity of reform in the royal household. He was thrown into prison for this, and was in peril of his life. A still more serious fate befel two other prebendaries, Richard Maudelyn and William Ferriby. There was so great a personal resemblance between King Richard and Maudelyn, that when that unhappy monarch was dead some enterprising people tried to make capital out of the

likeness. Maudelyn was arrayed in armour, a crown surmounting his helmet, and was shown to the soldiery as King Richard, whom many believed to be alive. The plot failed, and Maudelyn and Ferriby fled from the south towards Yorkshire, but were arrested on the way and were ignominiously put to death. Roger Walden, sometime dean of York, and Nicholas Slake and Ralph Selby, two other prebendaries, all three strong partisans of Richard, were imprisoned for a time in London.

CHAPTER VI

York under Henry IV.—The Rising of Archbishop Scrope and others—Henry V. at York—Wars of the Roses—Battle of Towton—Edward IV. and his Connexion with York—Popularity of Richard III. at York, and his Visit.

THE new king, Henry IV., after he landed at Ravenspurn, avoided York for the time, not knowing, probably, whether he would be welcome or not. In the early part of 1400 there was a disturbance at York, as in many other places. In the months of June and July Henry was in the city, bent upon an expedition to Scotland and in need of money. He got a loan of 1,000 marks from the citizens; and the mayor, the archbishop, and the abbot of St. Mary's, were appointed a committee to find further supplies. A meeting of parliament in the city, in November, was contemplated, but the scheme was abandoned. In August 1403 Henry was again in York to come to terms with the Earl of Northumberland, the father of Hotspur, who had fallen at Shrewsbury. The head of the earl's son was hanging over one of the gates, and the sorrowing father would see it when he arrived to make his constrained submission. He was very coldly received by Henry and was placed under arrest. A poor wretched hermit, who on a previous occasion had prophesied good of Henry, now dared to announce coming evil, and

the cruel king, cut off his head. Henry was in York in the next year, and got another loan of 300 marks from the citizens. He spent also some time, as before, at Pontefract, the scene of Richard's death. Few persons, connected with the place as he was, would have gone there at all.

A more serious event took place at York in 1405, an insurrectionary movement in which Archbishop Scrope took a prominent part. He had the active or passive support of Thomas Mowbray, earl-marshal, Thomas, Lord Bardolf, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Sir William Plumpton, of Plumpton. The causes of the rising were, primarily, the cruel end of King Richard, the dishonouring of the remains of Hotspur, whose mangled body was laid to rest at last in York minster, and the execution of Sir William le Scrope, earl of Wilts, the archbishop's nephew. Added to these were the faithlessness of Henry IV. to his promises, the oppression of the kingdom, and the neglect shown to every one who was not a partisan. On one of the days about the beginning of June, the manifesto of the insurgents, in the mother-tongue, was placed on the door of every monastery and parish church in York. The citizens and the country-folk joined the archbishop and his friends in large numbers, and the insurgents, swollen to a considerable force, marched out of the city as far as Shipton Moor. They were there beguiled and persuaded to disperse by the crafty wiliness of Ralph, earl of Westmorland. On the pretext of a conference he got the leaders by themselves, and then arrested them. Once secured, they were carried off to Pontefract with the utmost rapidity. The king was there

and came on to Bishopthorpe with the prisoners, full of vengeance. On June 3, he ordered the privileges and liberties of the city to be seized and withdrawn. The earl-marshal was executed at York and his corpse was interred in the minster, but his head, elevated on a pole, remained for a long time over the wall of the city. Sir John Lamplough and Sir William Plumpton had the same fate. But the most terrible consequence of the rising was the execution of the archbishop himself. Henry directed, in the first instance, that honest judge, Chief Justice Gascoigne, to try and sentence him to death, but was told that there was no law in England that could condemn a bishop. Sir Thomas Fulthorpe, a pliant tool, did what Gascoigne refused, and the archbishop was condemned in his own palace, and executed on the 8th of June in a field near Clementhorpe, within sight of the walls of the city, as a warning to its rebellious inhabitants. Fines and imprisonment were now the portion of the citizens, until at last pardon was bestowed on them. They begged for it, after the fashion of the age, on their knees, with ropes around their necks, and half-naked.

The remains of the archbishop were carried in fear and trembling to the minster by four of the vicars-choral, and were laid in the north-eastern corner of the choir. His tomb bade fair to be regarded as one of the most sacred shrines in the north. The officers and friends of Henry were able to put a stop to the devotions of the multitude at the grave, but the murdered prelate lived in the hearts of the people of Yorkshire.

In 1407-8, a continuation of the insurrection of Archbishop Scrope took place. The Earl of Northum-

berland and Lord Bardolf, who escaped on the previous occasion, were now the leaders, and came into Yorkshire with a large force from Scotland. They were met upon Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster, on February 19, by Sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff of Yorkshire, and were utterly routed, the two noblemen dying on the field. 'The king, to purge the north parts of all rebellion, and to take order for the punishment of those that were accused, went to York, where many were condemned and diverse put to great fines.' The Abbot of Hailes was executed in the city with many others. This is a sample of the way in which a cold-blooded man got rid of those who opposed him.

In 1415, just as Henry V. was starting from Southampton for France, another heavy blow fell upon the north. Richard, earl of Cambridge, Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey, were put to death for conspiring against the king. Two of them were very closely connected with York. A draft of the will of Lord Scrope has been preserved in which he directed his remains to be laid in York minster and a stately tomb to be made for him. All this came to an end. He had left also in York a large treasure of plate and jewels, which was seized on behalf of the king. The Earl of Cambridge was a son of one Duke of York, the father of another, and the grandfather of Edward IV.

In 1421 there was a royal progress to York, of which we should like to know more. The king and the queen went northwards soon after their coronation. The country was still overjoyed at the victory of Agincourt, and the progress of Henry and his queen was a veritable triumph. From York, Henry rode on to

Beverley. His signal victory had been won upon St. John's day, and he went with a grateful heart to express his gratitude at the tomb of the great Yorkshire saint.

There is very little known about the reign of Henry VI. It is famous of course for the bitter struggle for the pre-eminence between two rival branches of the royal family, the houses of York and Lancaster. Henry VI. represented the Lancastrian interest. The first Duke of York was Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of Edward III., for whom his nephew Richard II. created the title in 1385. Edmund had two sons, Edward, second Duke of York, who fell at Agincourt in 1415 fighting like a hero, and Richard, earl of Cambridge, or Richard of York, as he called himself, who was beheaded at Southampton in 1415. He married Anne, heiress of the Earl of March, and had a son, another Richard, to whom in 1425 Henry VI. restored the forfeited title of Duke of York. This Richard was through his mother the representative of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III., and through his father, the representative of Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of the same monarch. He had therefore by succession a nearer and stronger title to the throne than Henry of Lancaster, who descended from John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth son. It was in right of this double descent that Richard, duke of York, claimed the crown in 1460. The Lancastrian answer was the battle of Wakefield, where the claimant was slain and his men utterly routed. In cruel mockery, the head of the duke, surmounted with a crown of twisted grass, was suspended over one of the gates or bars at York.

The Earl of Salisbury, and some other men of note, who had been taken prisoners, were put to death and their heads hung beside that of their chief. The title of Duke of York passed now to Edward, Richard's son, afterwards Edward IV.

Henry VI. seems to have been in the north in 1424; in 1448 he visited York and Durham, going on a pilgrimage to St. Cuthbert's shrine, and, on his return, wrote a letter describing in very laudatory terms the beauty of the churches at both places, and the heartiness of his welcome, 'als good, and better then wee had ever in our life.' In the great war of the Roses, York and the shire were, at the beginning at least, very strongly Lancastrian, and it was at York that, before the decisive battle of Towton on Palm Sunday, 1461, Henry and Margaret had their headquarters, and collected an immense army. They stayed in the city during the fight—the most sanguinary that has ever taken place in England. It ended in the wreck of the house of Lancaster. When the battle was lost, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter rode to York with fiery speed to bid the king and queen escape. They slipped out of one of the postern gates, and got away towards Scotland, whilst wounded and disbanded fugitives came streaming into the city as their resting place. The battle is sometimes called York Field, because on it, as at Fulford, Stamford Bridge, and Marston, the possession of the city depended.

On the Monday Edward arrived in York, but the king and queen, whom he hoped to capture, had escaped. The citizens received him 'with gret

solempnyte, and processyons,' not unmingled with fear. Edward was generous enough to take them into his favour, at the earnest request of Lord Montagu and Lord Berners. He at once removed the heads of his father and Lord Salisbury from the bars, and replaced them by those of the Earl of Devon, Lord Kyme, and one or two others. The Earl of Northumberland escaped this dishonour, although he fought for Henry. He was deeply wounded in the fight, and was carried into York to die. He would be taken to his own house, Percy Inn, in Walmgate, and was laid in the neighbouring church of St. Dennis, the east window of which used to blaze with the armoury and figures of his illustrious family.

Edward remained in the city until everything was quiet, and went to London in the month of June, where he was crowned king on the 26th. In the following year the Earl of Warwick and the Bishop of Durham came to York at the king's request to collect men and money to counteract the opposition which Queen Margaret was preparing in Scotland. Soon afterwards the king himself was at York. In 1464 he occupied the palace in the city for some time, prescribing to the citizens the way in which they should elect their mayor, and making Lord Montagu Earl of Northumberland. After the battle of Hexham in this year a number of Lancastrian prisoners were brought to the city and executed. In 1469 Sir Humphrey Neville, and Charles, his brother, two famous outlaws, were captured by Lord Warwick, and were put to death at York in the presence of Edward. In 1470 Henry was brought back to the throne with the

help of Warwick, and Edward fled beyond the seas. He landed at Ravenspurn in the following year, and by a wise determination resolved to go 'to his city of York.' His reception there was doubtful, but he showed his good sense in trusting the place from which he derived his title, and his confidence was not misplaced. He entered the city on March 18, 1471, on the plea that he was endeavouring to recover the Duke of York's lands. He tarried for a night, and then went southwards, and was soon in his old position. In the autumn of 1478 Edward was here again, probably to escape the plague which was ravaging London.

In the latter part of Edward's reign, York was more intimately connected with Richard, duke of Gloucester, than with the king, his brother. The duke married in 1472 Anne, the younger of the two co-heiresses of Richard, earl of Warwick, and became, sooner or later, the owner of all her father's estates in Yorkshire, including the noble castles and domains of Middleham and Sheriffhutton. A great part of his time was spent in the county. He looked upon himself as a Yorkshireman, and regarded the people with a kindness which was fully returned. He understood the ways of the people, and showed that he valued their affection. No king of England has been more beloved in York. Constantly passing to and fro in the county, he was in frequent communication with the capital, where he was always welcome, and the citizens found in him a constant helper and patron.

Soon after his accession in 1483 Richard visited York, and had a noble reception. The narrow streets

were cleansed, the houses were hung with tapestry and coloured draperies, and more than 400*l.* was subscribed by the inhabitants for some appropriate gifts to their illustrious guests. On August 29 the royal party arrived, accompanied by a noble train. They were met by the citizens and clergy in solemn procession at St. James's Chapel on the Mount. Thence they went through the rejoicing city to the minster. After a service there Richard took up his residence in the palace of the archbishop, which was close at hand. The reception was so hearty and so welcome that the king resolved to give the people of York a still greater treat. He sent to London for a number of royal robes suitable for a grand ceremonial, together with banners and decorations of various kinds. They arrived; and, after witnessing a celebration of the famous 'Creed Play' on Sunday, September 7, on the morrow, the Festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the king and queen attended the minster service, the high altar being decorated with images of the Twelve Apostles, of silver-gilt, and various relics belonging to the king. Mass ended, the party returned to the hall of the palace, and there the young Edward was made a knight, and invested with the dignity of Prince of Wales. The Spanish ambassador, Galfridus de Sasiola (and no doubt others), was knighted on the same day. Then a royal banquet took place, at which the king and queen sat in state, wearing their golden crowns for four long hours.

It was on this day, probably, that Richard gave to the minster a great Cross standing on six steps, each of which was surmounted by an angel, whilst two

others stood below holding in their hands relics of the chasuble and shoes of St. Peter. The figures of Our Lord and of the two thieves were of white silver, and there were other figures below, the whole being decorated with many precious stones, rubies and sapphires. The king also gave a rich morse on which the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury was depicted in beryl, surrounded with jewels. But Richard showed his affection for the minster in a yet more conspicuous way. He directed the establishment in connection with it of a magnificent college of a hundred chaplains. In 1485 six altars had been erected in the minster for their use, and progress had been made with the building of the college. The fall of the donor brought the project to an end.

In the following year Richard was at York on several occasions, increasing the goodwill with which he was regarded. Then in August 1485, there is entered upon the house-book of the city the sad news from 'the feld of Redmore, that king Richard, late mercifully reigning upon us, was through grete treason of the Duc of Northfolk¹ and many othre turned ayenst hym, wt many othre lordes and nobilles of this North parties, was pitiously slane and murdred, to the grete hevynesse of this citie.' Six years after this the schoolmaster of St. Leonard's Hospital said in public company 'that kyng Richard was an ypocryte, a crochebake, and beried in a dike like a dogge; wherunto John Payntour answered and said that he lied, for the kynges good grace hath beried hym like a

¹ The citizens were mistaken. The Duke of Norfolk died fighting on Richard's side.

noble gentilman.' Mr. Payntour spoke part of the truth, as, in 1495, Henry paid 10*l.* for making Richard's tomb.

What became of Prince Edward, Richard's son? He is said to have died at Middleham in April 1484. There is a monument in the church of Sheriffhutton of this date which may be ascribed to him, and I think it probable that he was buried there. A small altar-tomb of a child is there, wrought in alabaster, with a shield bearing the Cross of St. George. The name ascribed to the effigy in the village, thirty years ago, was 'Little Crumplin,' reminding us at once of Richard's sobriquet of 'Crouchback.'

CHAPTER VII

Visit of Henry VII. and his Queen to York—Visits of the Princess Margaret—The Rebellion of Robert Aske—Punitive Measures—The Council of the North—The Rising in the North—Death of Elizabeth—Visits of James I. to York.

WHEN the corporation of York were mourning over the death of Richard, they wrote to the Earl of Northumberland to seek his advice and help, not knowing at the time that the fall of Richard was very much due to the earl's standing aloof from the fight at Bosworth. Northumberland paid the penalty for this, as some would think, in 1489, when he was killed near Thirsk by an infuriated mob. On the present occasion the earl and the archbishop did what the city wished, and brought the men of York into Henry's favour. The new monarch sent a special messenger, Sir Roger Cotam, to York to proclaim him king, but the knight, doubtful of the temper of the citizens, did not dare to come inside the walls, and the mayor and his brethren stole out to him and learned to their delight that the new king would take them into his favour. They drew up a petition to him, in which they mentioned their difficulties and their sacrifices. Putting their love to Richard to one side, they spoke, and not untruly, of their loyalty to Henry VI., the king's uncle : how they had sent 400 men to Wakefield and St. Albans, and as many as 1,000 to Towton, many of

whom were slain. They had done their best at all times to welcome and entertain Henry and Margaret and their friends. After Towton the citizens had been plundered and became impoverished, and the place had gone down in population and wealth through the wars of the times. To improve their finances they beg for the remission of various fee-farm rents due from the city to the crown. In reply, they got for the time some kind words, which showed at least that they had no further cause for alarm. Henry did not like to part with money.

Soon after Easter, 1486, a few months after his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the king came to York in great state, partly, no doubt, to make good his position in the city, partly to disperse some adherents of Richard who were in arms near Ripon and Middleham. The entry is duly recorded in the house-book. The corporation had no money to give, but they prepared a present of 200 maynbread casts,¹ a tun of wine of rose colour, six fat oxen, and fifty fat wether sheep. The sheriffs of the city, with two aldermen and forty horsemen, met the king at Tadcaster; the mayor and other officers of the city joined him in state at Bilbrough Cross. When they reached Dringhouses the inhabitants fell into the procession. At St. James' Chapel on the Mount 'a certaine nowmbre of childrine shalbe gaddard togiddre, calling joyfully "King Henrie," after the maner of children.' Poor children! Their joy and their cries were all arranged for them.

¹ A kind of rich bread for which York was famous. It was made in a cast or mould.

At Micklegate Bar was 'conceyved a place in maner of a heven of grete joy and angelicall armony; under the heven shalbe a world, desolaite, full of treys and floures, in the which shall spryng up a rioall, rich, rede rose, convaide by viace, unto the which rose shall appeyre an othre rich, white rose, unto whom, so being togedre, all other floures shall loute,' etc. Then Ebrauke shows himself with the keys of the city, and a poem to recite. All down Micklegate the houses were dressed with rich cloths, and at Skeldergate corner, 'if the weder be fair,' there was to be a shower of rose-water. On Ouse Bridge the king was to be met by his six predecessors of his name, and Solomon was to appear, making a metrical speech and giving Henry a sceptre. At the corner of Low Ousegate and Coning Street a hailstorm of comfits was to descend. At the common hall, David came back to life 'in clothing of white and greyne,' and made a speech in verse, in which he claimed Ebrauke as a brother-in-arms and an acquaintance. At the end of Swine-gayle, joining on to Stonegate, Our Lady herself was to be seen and address the king, 'comyng frome hevin . . . and ascend agane wit angell sang; and yer schall it snaw by craft, to be made of waffrons in maner of snaw.' The city programme ends here, and the herald's narrative carries the royal party to the minster. Then followed a noble banquet in the hall of the palace, and, on the morrow, a chapter of the knights of the Order of the Garter in the chapter-house. The warmth of the king's reception may be gathered from Sir William Paston's remark that the town was drunk dry!

Thenceforward York was one of Henry's most loyal

and devoted cities. Archbishop Rotherham was one of his ablest councillors, and in Deans Uswick and Blythe he had two invaluable servants. It is a fact not generally known that some of the fine sculpture which ornaments the beautiful chapel in which Henry lies was wrought by Thomas Drawswerd, who was Lord Mayor of York in 1515 and 1523. In 1487 the loyalty of York to Henry was tested by the insurrection of Lambert Simnell, of which the house-book of the city gives the best-known account. The corporation had heard some rumours of impending trouble, and wrote to the king about the weakness of the walls, the injury done to the castle by Richard III., and the want of a garrison. Henry sent them some guns and powder from Scarborough, and the city was put into a state of defence. In the month of June the rebels landed in Lancashire, and, crossing the country, came down Wensleydale, where they got the help of the Scropes. From Masham they wrote to the mayor demanding access to the city, which was refused. Then they came on to York, numbering 6,000 men, and 'the Lordes Scrope of Bolton and Upsall, constreyned, as it were, by there folkes, cam on horsbak to Bowthome Barre, and ther cried "King Edward," and made asalt at the gates, bot the commons . . . well and manly defendid tham and put tham to flight.' The mayor now let the Earl of Northumberland into the city, and the possibility of capture was at an end. Soon after this the enterprise terminated near Newark, and the pretender, said to have been a son of Edward IV., fell into the victor's hands. The king wrote in glad haste to York with tidings of his

success, and the *Te Deum* in the minster, which he asked for, was dutifully sung.

Henry was in the city on several occasions after this. In the summer of 1487 he paid his second visit, which is recorded in the house-book. He sent a proclamation before him stating that he was coming to thwart 'the malicious purpose of his grete rebelles and enemyes' wherever he might find them. On the 30th of July, 'accompanied wt many lords and nobles and their retinew, to the nombre of x thowsand men, in harnesse, wt his baner displayed,' he entered the city. The lord mayor and his brethren met him at St. Thomas' Hospital, and the recorder made a speech. Then the mayor carried the mace before the king on horseback as far as the palace. On Wednesday the king saw and heard the 'Corpus Christi' play. The Thursday was devoted to justice. Roger Layton, Esq., was convicted of treason at the guildhall, and, on Saturday, was 'heded upon the payment, and his body and hede beryd in his parish church of the Holy Trinitie in Gotheromgate.' Thomas Metcalfe, senior, and a person of the name of Tempest, were also sentenced to death by the knight-marshall, but were reprieved. On the 31st the king knighted William Todd, the lord mayor, and Richard York, one of the aldermen. After this he went on northwards towards Durham and Newcastle, returning, within a fortnight, by Boroughbridge and Pontefract. A few weeks afterwards the Earl of Northumberland rejoiced the hearts of the citizens by sending to them eight bucks and five marks of money for an entertainment: and a fine time they had of it with some other help. The

corporation, with other gentlemen of the minster and 600 commoners, 'had a worshipfull recreacion, solace and disport wt brede, ale, venyson rost and bakyn, wt rede wyne suffisiaunt,' in the guildhall, a place sacred to such festivities through many a long century.

The beginning of the next century witnessed the arrival in York of the Princess Margaret on her way to her royal husband, James of Scotland. In October 1501, a Scottish embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Bothwell, and others, came to the city to arrange for the marriage, and the lord mayor and his brethren, at the king's request, waited on them at St. Mary's Abbey, with kind words of welcome and a goodly present of such delicacies as the place could offer.

On Saturday, July 15, 1503, the princess, under the charge of Lord and Lady Surrey, was met at Tadcaster bridge by the sheriffs of the city and one hundred horsemen. As they drew nearer, Lord Latimer and his lady, Lords Scrope of Bolton and Upsall, Lady Conyers, and many more, fell into the procession, whilst at Dringhouses the Earl of Northumberland with three hundred horsemen swelled the cavalcade. At the Mount the princess, who had been riding on a pillion before, entered a rich litter, or car, drawn by two horses. The lord mayor and the citizens now greeted her. The chief officer was Sir John Gilliot, whom the king had recently honoured by creating him a knight of the Bath. Short speeches of welcome and thanks were made, and then Sir John, bare-headed, and carrying the mace, rode before the princess through the city. Sir John was a sight himself. He was arrayed 'in

fyne cremynsyn saten engraned, havynge a coller of gold of the kynges livery about his nek, on horsebak, his saddyll of cremynsyn velvet, and his horse trappour of the same with gilt bolyon, his foteman in grene satan with the armes of the citie and his own armes.' The scene was a veritable triumph. The procession rolled on to the minster, where there was a gorgeous ceremonial. On the following morning, a Sunday, the authorities of the city had an audience at the palace and gave the young lady a large gilt cup of silver, with a fane bearing the arms of the city, with one hundred angels inside. A grand service at the minster followed, at which the new archbishop (Savage) was installed in his office. He had not announced his intention to the citizens, and some offence was given by his silence. Some who had been expecting two banquets thought themselves scurvily treated by being put off with one. If such a thought had entered the archbishop's mind, no one could reasonably wonder at his wishing to avoid the wasteful extravagance shown by several of his predecessors. He was not a mean man. He had his cellar well filled, and was fond of the chase, and had a goodly array of household servants, 'proper men and tall.'

On the Monday the princess went northwards. Ten years passed away and she was a widow, her husband having fallen at Flodden, the English commander being the same Earl of Surrey under whose charge she was now going to her new home. The earl brought the body of James southwards in a covered cart belonging to Sir William Percy. The Prior of Durham, who ascribed the victory to St. Cuthbert, wished to inter the corpse in his church, but was

obliged to be content with some pieces of the king's armour, together with his banner, which would probably be hung upon the altar-screen among the trophies of Neville's cross. The body was brought to York, and the lord mayor and his brethren met the party outside Bootham Bar. The earl went to the house of Archdeacon Dalby, the canon-in-residence, where his countess was awaiting him, and there he stayed for a week. The remains of the king were no doubt properly embalmed and cased before they set out for London. They were shamefully neglected, and were tossing about some years after this in a granary or out-house at Sheen in Surrey.

In 1516 Queen Margaret went southwards and halted at York, where she was very kindly received. She was a widow, and had been almost a prisoner, but at last her brother invited her to London, and good Queen Katherine sent her own white palfrey for her use. She lodged at St. Mary's Abbey, entering in by the new postern, which avoided all the dirt and horrors of Marygate, one of the most disreputable streets in or about the city. The mayor made her a present of wine and mayne-bread, and six large pikes laid on a sheet, all alive 'and lepyng affore her.' She would, no doubt, admire the fishes, and on the morrow the mayor took her to see their recent home, the pike-weir or garth belonging to the city. Sir John Carr, the high sheriff of the county, entertained the party at the place. Kind words were spoken by the lord mayor and the queen when she left for London, and she 'promysed with all her hert, if she myght do good to this citie, she shoulde be good lady to the same.'

Margaret returned to Scotland in May 1517, resting for a few days at St. Mary's abbey.

During the reign of Henry VIII., who for some years held the title of Duke of York, the city occupied a somewhat lower position than before. The king was only once within its walls, and royal letters, asking the advice or help of the authorities, appear very rarely on the house-books. This altered state of things showed itself in the last years of the reign of Henry VII. In 1504, Archbishop Savage, in a letter to the lord mayor, styles himself the 'king's lieutenant and high-commissioner within these north parts.' Shortly after Henry the Eighth's accession, the Earl of Surrey spent some months in the city, and various matters were referred to him for decision. In 1525, and for some years afterwards, the king's illegitimate son, Henry, duke of Richmond, was located at Sheriffhutton under the direction of Thomas Magnus and a small council, which was of use in determining questions of public import that were submitted to its decision. Had the young duke's life been spared he might have been king; but he died of the sweating-sickness in London.

In 1536 the great religious rising called the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' broke out in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The objects of that movement were secular as well as religious, but the chief design proposed was, no doubt, the restoration of the monks and nuns to their old abodes, and the prevention of the spoiling of the churches. The two royal visitors of the northern monasteries, Richard Layton and Thomas Legh, performed their duty somewhat harshly. Layton, who became afterwards Dean of York, was a servant of the king, and upon him, in the

opinion of many, rested the obloquy of seizing the great relique of York minster, the head of St. William, or, rather, the jewelled case in which it was enshrined. There was a great turmoil caused by the changes of the time in every Riding. On October 15, 1536, Robert Aske, the chief leader of the movement, led his forces to York, and on the following day the gates were opened by the willing citizens, and the insurgents entered the city in triumph. The report went up to London that they numbered 20,000, and that the inhabitants had met them in procession. The Earl of Northumberland held back, although cries were heard at the gate of Wressle, where he was lying sick, of 'thousands for a Percy' to take the lead. They could not get the earl, but they won his younger brother, Sir Thomas, who, on the 16th, 'rode thorowe York in complete harnes, wit fethers trymyd, as well as he myte dek hymself at that tyme.' Before the rebels came in the lord mayor had gained from them the promise that there should be no plundering, and that none should be hurt. The footmen remained outside, the horsemen alone entering. When Aske came in he secured the king's treasure, and set a proclamation on the minster door desiring all the religious to send in their names that they might be reinstated in their old positions. They seemed to spring up, as it were, out of the ground. 'Though it were never so late when they returned, the friars sang matins the same night.'

The scene of action changed from York to Pontefract and Doncaster. On November 28 the house-book at York states that Sir George Lawson, knight, John Hedwin, sheriff, Chr. Conyers, chamberlain,

Peter Robinson, and George Pulleyn, with eight servants and horses, were ordered to meet the Duke of Norfolk at Pontefract by December 2. Every ward was also ordered to have a post-horse in readiness for immediate use, and, soon afterwards, the victuallers, etc., of the city were ordered to make due provision for the entertainment of the Duke of Norfolk, when he arrived, and at reasonable charges. In May, 1537, the authorities were desired to state how many spare beds could be put up in the city and the neighbourhood, and how many horses they could stable. They say that, in addition to certain private accommodation, they could find 1,413 beds, and stable 1,811 horses. They write also to the king to say that there is no plague in the place, and, 'if it so may pleas the kinge's moost, royall majestie to com to this his citie, it shal be to all us . . . the moost high comfurth in the world, next to our Lord God.' The people of York were generally clever at getting out of a scrape. A visit to York was evidently in Henry's mind, and there is a state-paper by Cromwell, saying that a northern parliament, which Aske and his friends had claimed, was to meet in York in the summer of 1537, at which grievances were to be stated and relieved in the royal presence, and there was also to be a coronation of the queen. This meant peace and conciliation; but it was delayed for a time by the revival of insurrectionary movements, which ended in the execution, somewhat harshly, of the leaders in the previous year. Among these was Robert Aske himself, who was hung on a gallows set up on one of the towers or bars of York, in July, 1537. He was worthy of a better fate.

The coming of Henry to York was regarded by the citizens with considerable anxiety. At first they were in a flutter of excitement. The streets were to be cleansed, and Coney Street, which was called King's Street, was to be paved at the expense of the city. The fronts of the houses were to be ornamented with the best wrought beds of the citizens. All valiant (*i.e.* importunate) beggars were to be banished from the city, the rest were not to pursue their calling in the streets. All the members of the corporation were to be vested in violet gowns, and, of the other citizens, as many as could afford it were to wear one livery. The registers of the city were searched to see how Henry VII. had been entertained, and it was ordered that a scaffold should be erected at Micklegate Bar, and Sir Ralph Clayton, clerk, was directed to compose the speeches which the king would there listen to. On the roof of St. William's chapel, close to Ouse Bridge, there was to be a musical greeting of the visitors. The merchants were to place their pageant at the corner of Ousegate and Spurriergate; whilst at the end of Coney Street, near the Common Hall, there was to be another exhibition, with more music. Turrets and battlements made of timber and canvas, and goodly fanes decked with the arms of the king and queen, prince and city, were lavishly ordered. A cup of silver, double-gilt, and filled with 100*l.* in gold, was to be presented to the king, and one with 40*l.* in it to his consort. All this seemed to betoken an exuberance of loyalty; but Henry could not forget how the citizens had gone against him in the recent insurrection, and he was slow to forgive. The officers of the city began to be very uneasy, and

messenger after messenger was sent to the Duke of Norfolk, or to the Archbishop of York, to know what they should do. A copy of the abject submission by which the men of Lincolnshire had regained Henry's favour was read in the chamber, and, in the end, the same humiliating process was advised and adopted, in the hope that they would be forgiven. On Thursday, September 15, Henry approached York, not through Micklegate Bar at all, so that the finery there and Sir Ralph Clayton's speeches were wasted, but through Fulford, drawing up to the city from Wressle, where he had been an unwelcome visitor. When the royal party came to the Fulford cross, of which the steps and part of the shaft still remain, the corporation and many of the better citizens, to the number of 120, not arrayed in violet, as was at first intended, but in a penitential garb, 'the moste parte havynge newe gownes of fyne sadde tawny onely for y^t purpos,' were drawn up on one side of the road, with sixty gentlemen from the Ainsty behind. The king went up to them, and then everybody knelt, and the recorder made what is called 'a goodly proposicion of submission,' which no one can read in this day without a feeling of shame. A few lines from the document will give the character of the whole of it: 'Moste myghty and victoryous prynce, under Almyghty God supreme heyd of the Church of England, our naturall sovereign, beyng all tymes by the inspiracion of the Holy Goste repleyt with mercy and pety, as evidently haith been shewyd by your grace to your subjectes layte offendours in theis North partes: and whereas we, your humble subjectes, . . . for lack of syncere and pure knowlege of the verytie of God's worde, and ignoraunt

of our boundon duty . . . have grevously, heynously, and traitoryously offendyd . . . wherby your grace havynge the lyves, landes, and goodes of us wretchys at your wyll & pleaser . . . have graunted to us wretches . . . your moste frank & free pardon, whos bountyfull part and liberall graunte we are in no wise able to recompence or satisfye, but contynually have been frome the bothome of our stomak repentaunt, wo, and sorowfull,' etc., etc. The king must have listened with scornful disdain to these pitiful words ere he swept on with his train into the city. It was only on December 9, 1540, that a general pardon was sent to the inhabitants.

One of the objects of his coming was to meet the King of Scotland, his nephew, who never made his appearance, and this did not improve the temper of Henry. He lodged in a new palace, or house, which had been built for him, between the Abbot's House and the present Museum, in the grounds of St. Mary's Abbey, and which soon fell into decay. During his stay he was anxious to hear complaints, and to allay discontent. He found in the churches some of the rich shrines undefaced, and these he ordered the archbishop to remove. Within the last few years many pieces of glorious sculpture in marble have been found uninjured in the ground near the minster, as if they had been purposely concealed in the hope of the coming of a better day.

One of the main causes of Henry's visit was, no doubt, his desire to help and develop a new plan of his for governing the northern parts of his dominions. The recent insurrection had shown the necessity

for something of the kind, and a special council, located at York, was appointed to do the necessary work. It must not be regarded as a concession of what we may call Home Rule, but as a strengthening of the royal authority in a distant and somewhat unruly part of the kingdom. In April, 1537, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, was appointed lord president, with two companions, but he had, more or less, to play the part of a provost-marshal. He was succeeded by some of the greatest men in England, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, Archbishop Holgate, Francis, earl of Shrewsbury, Henry, earl of Rutland, Archbishop Young, Thomas, earl of Sussex, Henry, earl of Huntingdon, Thomas, lord Burleigh, Edmund, earl of Mulgrave, and, last of all, the great Lord Strafford. The president was generally assisted by a Council of fifteen or twenty persons, natives of the district, or lawyers of fame. They were handsomely remunerated, and the position, therefore, was keenly sought after and valued. The recently-built house of the Abbot of St. Mary's contained the hall of justice, and in that place the lord president and several officers of the court resided. The duties of the Commission are thus described in the instructions given by Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne, to Francis, earl of Shrewsbury. The object of the Court is said to be 'the good, speedie, and indifferent administracion of justice, to be hadde betwene partie and partie in the north parties.' Its jurisdiction extends to matters criminal and civil. Gaol deliveries are to be held at York, Hull, Durham, and Newcastle. The attention of the Council is specially directed, in criminal matters, to the punishment of the spreaders of seditious news

not being treason, rioters, nonconformity, and the enclosure of commons. They could not condemn to death, but they could punish by fine, imprisonment, the pillory, and the cutting-off of ears. But the powers of the Court varied, as occasion required, and were often very wide and grave. The act-books and proceedings of the Council have been lost or destroyed. We are only acquainted with a single MS. volume which has any connection with their work, and that shows that between 1580 and 1590 the care of mustering troops and providing for the general safety of the country in the north devolved upon Henry, earl of Huntingdon, a most industrious and able statesman. The book contains the drafts of the letters which he received and sent out, and gives some most interesting notices of the Armada and its fate.

The influence of the presence of this body of distinguished persons resident in York was, of course, very considerable. The tone of the society in the northern capital would be materially raised and improved. The authority of the lord mayor and the corporation sank down to zero. They winced and kicked at times when one piece of jurisdiction after another left them; they did not like the sharp letters of rebuke which were occasionally sent to them. But resistance was unavailing; the president of Council was the king's lieutenant, and his authority was paramount. As a general rule, the 'patres conscripti' of the city bowed to the inevitable. The earl-president, at his first coming to the city, was met at the gate by the lord mayor and his fellows with music and solemn procession, and they gave up to him, for the time, the keys of the place.

The city made him a present, not of a gilt cup filled with gold pieces, but usually of wine, whilst the lady mayoress, and her lady friends, called upon the president's wife, if he had one, with an offering of confectionery and the like. In 1581 the Earl of Huntingdon sent two bucks to the lord mayor, a gift which would endear him to the citizens throughout his life. In 1567 the then president, Archbishop Young, had the singular felicity of having a son born to him, 'legitimate, by his espoused wife,' as the city register quaintly has it, and the father, in gracious courtesy, asked the lord mayor to be one of the sponsors for the child, and he was delighted to accept the honour. At the christening, the lord mayor gave the child, in the name of the city, a silver cup, double-gilt, weighing 28 oz., and twenty old angels of gold, not forgetting, besides, 10s. to the midwife and 10s. to the 'norce.' So, Sir George Young was, practically, the god-child of the city of York.

In 1564 a large portion of the work of the Council in the North was taken away by the establishment in York of a High Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, which continued until 1639 and extended over the whole province of York. Some of the depositions taken before this body are preserved, and the whole of their act-books, which throw a wonderful light upon the working of the ecclesiastical laws, and the handling of Roman Catholics and Dissenters. These courts (the London Star-Chamber) were in addition to the customary assizes and the ecclesiastical courts of the bishops. These, together with the Council in the North, were an iron collar around the neck of the whole district, by

which it was effectually held as in a vice. An examination of the books of the High Court of Commission discloses a miserable system of torture by fine, imprisonment, and other vexatious punishments which in these days can only excite astonishment and indignation. Once only did the temper of the North flame out against the severity of the penal laws by which it was repressed. The effort was unsuccessful; and then the shackles were put on so tightly that further opposition of any kind was absolutely impossible. And this was English justice!

The rising in the North, which broke out in November, 1569, was an effort made by the Roman Catholics in that district to overthrow the established religion of the country. The motive-cause was Elizabeth's treatment of Mary Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk. The real leaders in the insurrection were John Swinburne, Esq., of Chopwell in Durham, Thomas Markenfield, Esq., of Markenfield near Ripon, and Richard Norton, Esq., of Norton Conyers, the high sheriff of Yorkshire; but they put forward as their ostensible chiefs the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. These two great personages brought over their feudal retainers and a vast number of discontented people. The first outbreak was in Durham in November, 1569, whence, as the earls moved southwards to Ripon, Wetherby, Tadcaster, and Clifford Moor, the rebellion spread through the northern parts of Yorkshire. Very little blood was shed, but in the county of Durham, and throughout Richmondshire and Cleveland, the new service-books in the churches were destroyed, and the old ritual restored. The great

desire of the rebels in coming southwards was to capture York. They said 'yf they atteyne York, all ys theirs, and yf they mysse yt, yt were better for them to dye lyke men, then to be hanged.' Within the walls of York lay Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, the queen's lieutenant, and with him were Sadler and Hunsdon. But they had only 2,500 footmen and 500 horse, and with so small a number of men they did not venture to attack the enemy when they were near to the city with a much larger force. The earl did everything he could to put York into a proper state of defence, and the would-be insurgents within the walls were kept thoroughly under. Hunsdon, writing to Cecil, says 'yf ever any man deserved thanks or reward at her Majestie's hands, yt ys th'erle of Sussex ; for yf hys dyllygence and carfulness had not been gret, her Majestye had neyther had Yorke, nor Yorksher, at thys ower, att hyr devocyon or commandment.' But help was at hand, and on the approach of reinforcements from the south, under Lords Warwick and Clinton, the rebellion melted away, Northumberland escaping into Scotland, and Westmorland taking refuge in the Low Countries, where he died in poverty and disgrace. Before Warwick and Clinton marched northwards, they got a loan of 500*l.*, although with some difficulty, from the citizens of York.

And now came retribution. The punishments were exceedingly severe. A commission to try some of the chief rebels sat at York in March and April, 1569-70, and Sir George Bowes was provost-marshal in Durham and north Yorkshire, discharging his duties with keen and calculated harshness. Eleven persons were sentenced to die at York, but four only of these were actually put

to death—these were Simon Digby, John Fulthorpe, Robert Pennyman, and Thomas Bishop.

Northumberland escaped to Scotland, but in 1572 he was given up to the English, for a bribe, and was conducted to York by Sir John Forster. He was beheaded on a scaffold set up in the Pavement, in the afternoon of August 22, and his remains were interred in the church of St. Crux close by, without any memorial over his grave. The treachery of the Scots in surrendering the earl was strongly reprobated, and his fate excited much commiseration. Mr. William Singleton wrote a ballad deploring the catastrophe, of which there is a copy in Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The poet fell into the clutches of her majesty's commissioners for ecclesiastical causes at York and suffered for his rashness. Whilst the earl's head was lying in the Tollbooth on Ouse Bridge, William Tessimond cut off some hair from the beard. He wrapped it in paper, and wrote on the outside 'Thes the heire of the good Erle of Northumberland, Lord Percy.' For this he got into great trouble.

One of the consequences of this rebellion was the increased severity with which the Roman Catholics were persecuted all over the province of York. Woe to the poor wretches who fell into the clutches of the ecclesiastical commissioners. Priests were hunted down like vermin. Attendance at church and at the Holy Communion was rigidly enforced. Everything that savoured of Roman Catholicism was checked and attacked. In November, 1572, an order went out that there should be no more riding on St. Thomas' day through the streets of York of 'two disguised per-

sons, called Yule and Yule's wief,' Christmas mummers of a harmless kind. The old miracle plays, dear to the citizens, disappear about the same time. They were stopped at Wakefield in 1576, and, three years later, the York city council agreed to submit their plays to the archbishop and dean for correction. As these two dignified personages hated each other like poison, nothing whatever was done with the MS., and it has happily escaped to show the York people of the present time how their ancestors amused themselves on ' Corpus Christi ' day long centuries ago.

On Sunday, March 28, 1603, at the early hour of six in the morning, Thomas, Lord Burleigh, the lord president, sent for the lord mayor and aldermen to tell them that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and to request them to proclaim James of Scotland her successor, with all due ceremony. The fathers of the city returned to the mayor's abode, and the accuracy of the intelligence having been called in question, they went back to the manor, where Lord Burleigh was residing, and he told them that the news had come to him from a private friend. Whilst they were talking the matter over, a post arrived with letters from the Privy Council which put the matter beyond all doubt. Thereupon the lord mayor mounted his horse, and, accompanied by his brethren and a great multitude of the citizens, rode to the Bull-ring on the Pavement, where the lord president, Baron Savile, and others of their colleagues joined him, and, after three blasts of the trumpet, the proclamation was made, and hats were flying in the air, whilst ' God save King James ! ' went up in a great shout. The procession then went to the south door of

the minster, where the proclamation was repeated. The party then went into the building and listened to a suitable discourse from the chancellor, Dr. Goodwin, canon of Christ Church, Oxford. That over, the bells rang out amid universal manifestations of joy, and in the evening the city was bright with bonfires.

The citizens now began their preparations for the reception of the king as he came southwards towards London, in which a thorough purification of the place formed a great and very necessary part. While this was going on, a hint came from the lord president that a loan of 3,000*l.* to the king would be a very acceptable boon; but, with Yorkshire caution, the corporation named a third of that sum, which they gathered together as well as they could. The king, of course, accepted it, and said in his letter of thanks, 'We were not so ill-served of our owne as that we either did or do stand in nede of money for our jorney; we were, therefore, aminded to have returned your money back againe unto yow, but least we should seme to disdaine your offer!' etc., etc. The money was raised by the free contributions of the citizens, the lord mayor giving 100*l.* They might as well have called it a gift at once, instead of a loan.

On Saturday, April 16, the king left Ripley, where he had passed the night as the guest of Mr. William Ingilby. At Skipbridge on the Nidd he touched the limit of the Ainsty, where the jurisdiction of the city began. There the two sheriffs of York were waiting, on horseback, in their crimson gowns, accompanied by one hundred persons who had discharged the office of chamberlain, and sixty of the chief inhabitants of the Ainsty. Within a

mile of the city Lord Burleigh, the president, with a goodly train, made his obeisance and offered his greeting. The lord mayor and his brethren, glittering in unwonted finery, were awaiting the arrival of the royal procession, on a wooden stage close to Micklegate Bar. A blast of trumpets welcomed James as he came over Holgate Hill and up to the stand. When he reached that spot, the king, with the Duke of Lennox and Lord Home on either side, received the emblems of civic power. The sword, after the lord mayor had kissed it, was handed by the king to George, earl of Cumberland, the great sea-captain, to be borne before him through the city. Lord Home was to carry the keys as far as the manor, and the lord mayor the mace; and so, after a long address from the recorder, the party threaded the streets, and reached the minster, where it was welcomed at the west door by the authorities of the church, the Bishop of Limerick being the dean at that time. James walked up the nave, under a canopy held over him by six lords, preceded by the choristers singing their best, and went to a throne in the high choir, where he heard the service performed. When that was over, he went through Bootham Bar to the manor, where Lord Burleigh and his associates in the Council conducted him to his lodging.

On the morrow, which was Sunday, the dignitaries of the city made their way to the manor, and, on their admission to the royal presence, the mayor placed in the king's hands 'a cupp of silver with a cover, double guylt, of chaist goldesmythe work, with the cittye's armes ingraven on the same, and weyinge lxxiiij ounces,' the work of Master Christopher Harrington, a cunning

goldsmith of York. Inside the cup were two hundred angels. The mayor made a short address with the gift, after which 'the king stode up and said, "My lord maior, we meane to visyte this citty oftner then anye kinges have heretofore done, and not to be a strainger therein, for we have manye possessions in the Northe whiche other kinges had not; and willed my lord maior and aldermen that the river might be amended, and that at the nexte parliament they shoulde make suites for the amendinge thereof, and his matie would be a burgesse for them for that time." The lord mayor then asked the king to dine with him on the Tuesday, 'and his matie toke my lord maior by the hand, and said: "We must ryde before then, but we will break our fast with yow tomorrowe in the morninge."' The king then went to service in the minster, returning to his quarters, where he transformed twenty-three gentlemen into knights. At ten o'clock on the Monday, James went to the lord mayor's house, where he was sumptuously feasted. The repast, however, is called, not a breakfast, but a dinner. That over, the king walked to the deanery to say good-bye to the dean, and, going thence to the manor, took horse there and rode to Grimston, near Tadcaster, where he passed the night with Sir Edward Stanhope. On the morrow, the lord mayor, by request, went to Grimston and was knighted. 'Our meaninge,' said the king, 'was to have bestowed a knighthood upon yow in your owne house, but, the companye beinge so great, we rather thought good to have yow here.' Then James went on to Doncaster, and Sir Robert Watter rode home, and there would be high festival kept in his house that night.

In the month of June following, the queen, Prince Henry, and the Princess Margaret, were in York on their way to London, and received a hearty welcome, of which there is a full account in the house-book. The queen asked the lord mayor to let her see a little of the country around York; and he took her through Monk Bar to Heworth Moor, and then through Tang-hall Lane into the Hull road, and back again into the city through Walmgate Bar. When they reached the lord mayor's door, near St. Crux church, the mayoress and her lady friends were drinking spiced wine, and offered some of it to their royal visitor. When the queen heard what it was she asked for some beer!—a beverage with which she was, no doubt, more familiar. The party were in the city from Saturday, June 11, until the following Tuesday.

King James, in spite of his promise, only paid one more visit to York, and that was on his way to Scotland in April, 1617. It is unnecessary to give the full details of this visit, as a formal reception of this kind very necessarily repeats itself. The archbishop met the king on this occasion and helped to show him some of the monuments in the minster, together with the chapter-house. On the Friday James dined with the lord president, who was then residing in the minster-garth. On the Saturday he was entertained at Bishopthorpe. On the Sunday, after service in the minster, where the archbishop was the preacher, the king went to the lord mayor's house in Hosier Lane, close to St. Crux church. Here he dined; Alderman Herbert, who lived close at hand, entertaining the overflow of the party. The lord mayor, the recorder, the aldermen,

and the sheriffs, all in their proper attire, waited at the king's table.' Dinner ended, James asked for the great sword of the city, but, as it was inaccessible at the moment, Mr. Haburne, one of the gentlemen-ushers, gave his sword to the king, who thereupon knighted Robert Askwith, the mayor, and Sergeant Hutton, the recorder. On Monday, after a service at the manor, where Dr. Phineas Hodson preached, the king touched various persons for the evil. He then returned the sword of the city to the mayor, 'giveinge him a check of the cheeke, sayinge he well deserved the sworde,' and so he went northwards, riding through Clifton Ings 'in his carroch, privately.'

When James was first in York, in 1603, he tasted a rare delicacy in confectionery, made only in the city, called mayne-bread, the ingredients of which have been forgotten. On the Sunday, in 1617, when he was making merry in Hosier Lane, he remembered the dainty, and said to the lord mayor, 'he did mervaille that he had not sene maine-bread, as in former tymes had bene used, being so auncient and memorable a thing, which the like was not used in any citty in this kingdome. Whereunto my lord mayor humbly answered that the use of spiced cakes at banquettes was a great hinderance therunto. His majesty, therupon, did straitly chardge my lord maior that mayn bread should be baked, for his highnes would not have so auncient a thing to discontinue.' The good people of York did not forget this command. When James, as he returned, reached Brougham Castle in Westmorland, one of the Earl of Cumberland's seats, he found there some dozens of mayne-bread cakes which his loyal subjects at York had sent for

his acceptance. More than this, they proceeded forthwith against the makers of the intrusive spice-cakes by fine and imprisonment. Persecution, as usual, won the victory, and spice-bread is still paramount.

Another curious circumstance will show how proud the people of York were of these royal visits. Edmund Howes, a well-known London printer, who was producing edition after edition of John Stowe's popular chronicle, inserted in one of them a full and laudatory description of the grand doings at York, and sent a copy of the book to the corporation. He tickled their vanity thereby and received a *douceur* of twenty nobles. Happy printer!

CHAPTER VIII

The Visits of Charles I. to York—The Civil War in Yorkshire—The Siege of York—Battle of Marston Moor—The Parliamentary Committee in York—The Restoration and the Troubles after it—The Revolution in 1688.

BETWEEN Charles I. and the city of York there was a long and most intimate connection. He paid his first visit since his childhood, on Friday, May 24, 1633, coming from Pontefract on his way to Edinburgh. The reception was arranged after the programme of 1603, and Charles, as a compliment, sent York Herald (not a newspaper, but an officer in the College of Arms) to discuss and arrange the details. The sheriffs met Charles on Tadcaster Bridge, attired in their scarlet gowns, with one hundred citizens, mounted, in their train. The reception took place in a torrent of rain, and when the welcome was given, the sheriffs, like prudent men, slipped aside, and, throwing their cloaks over their finery, headed the procession into York. The pitiless rain pursued them and broke up the order to be observed when the city was reached. The king did not leave his 'caroch' at Micklegate Bar; but the wet did not stop the flow of the speeches to which he was obliged to listen from the mayor and recorder. When they were finished, the mayor presented 'a faire silver cupp with a cover, double gilt, having the king's

armes molten and sett on the topp, and the cittie's armes engraven on the foote by James Plomer, a gold-smyth of the cittie'; and within it 'in a rich purse of purple velvett, having the king's armes sumptuously imbossed with gold and silver on both sydes theirow and six score Carolus xx^s peices therein.' The fate of the cup was unexpected, and something of a grievance. What was intended for the king became the perquisite of the Marquess of Hamilton. The concourse went, as usual, to the minster, and there the king knelt down on a cushion which had been set for him at the west door, and prayed. A little further on, close to the font, a chair was placed, on which Charles sat down and listened to a congratulatory address in Latin, spoken by Archdeacon Wickham, one of his chaplains.' Then followed the service, and while the anthem was being sung, the king was asked to dine with the lord mayor on the Sunday following, and agreed to do so; and then the mayor 'in testimony of thankfulness did make a low humiliation to his matie.' Charles stayed at the manor. On the Saturday he hunted in the new park in the forest of Galtres. On the Sunday he walked from the manor to the minster, 'the streets all strawed with sand and hearbs,' and heard a sermon from Phineas Hodson, the chancellor. After service he rode in his coach to the Pavement and dined with the lord mayor, whom he knighted, as well as the recorder, with Richard the Second's sword. Dinner over, Charles returned to the minster to examine it, and went to the top of the lantern-tower to get a view of the country. On the morrow, after witnessing a horse-race on Acomb Moor for two silver flagons, the gift of the city, he paid a visit to the archbishop at Bishopthorpe.

On the next day he touched a number of persons for the 'king's evil,' and rode northwards.

On Saturday, March 30, 1639, Charles came again to York from Doncaster on his way to Scotland, where his presence was urgently required. There was some speech-making at Micklegate Bar, where the recorder, Mr. Thomas Widdrington, must have astonished even the king himself by his fulsome praise. He began by calling the York people 'the least and meanest moates in the firmament of your majestie's government.' He then aired his antiquarian knowledge, speaking of Constantius Chlorus, and the burning lamp said to have been found in his tomb, the birth of Constantine, and the library of Egbert, and ended by wishing 'that the septer of King Charles may, lyk Aron's rodd, budd and blossome and bee an eternall testimony against all rebells, and that this kingdome may never want a King Charles.' The events of the next few days bore a close resemblance to those when the king was in York in 1633. On the Thursday, Charles kept his Maundy in the minster. 'A great parte of the ile on the north syde of the church was closed in with scaffoldes of furr deales, and on the north syde of the ile there were seates made some distance from the ground wheron xxxix old men sate, according to the number of the yeares of his matie's age.' The Bishop of Winchester was the almoner. On the morrow, which was Good Friday, after the service in the minster, Charles touched for the 'evil,' doing the same on the Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday next. According to a MS., to which Drake the historian had access, Charles touched four hundred persons on this visit. The curate of the neighbouring church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey

regarded all this exertion as unprofitable. He has the following entry in his register in August, 1659: 'Richard, y^e sonne of Mr. Henry Stubbes, went over se to the king to be cured of y^e evell, and died at Breste, and was buried in y^e parish church of St. Genrix. So much for y^e old wivis' story of curing the king's evil.' The favourite diversion of Charles during this visit was playing at a game called 'balloon.' According to a diary of the events in York at this time, made by the Earl of Rutland, Charles left York for Raby Castle in Durham on the 29th of April.

The most attractive place in York to Charles was undoubtedly the minster. Before his first visit he had assigned the sum of 1,000*l.* to the chapter for the building of an organ. Out of this sum the authorities were also able to add to their store of plate for the Holy Communion, and bought a Bible and Prayer-Book, which are still preserved in the minster, bound in purple velvet, and ornamented with plates of silver gilt. As soon as Charles saw the minster, he played the part of a reformer with considerable success. He observed certain houses, with their offices, close to the west and south doors, and ordered their removal on the expiration of the leases. Another building which had been erected inside one of the transepts he ordered to be summarily destroyed. In the choir he observed that the stalls and beautiful woodwork were being sacrificed to provide seats and pews for dignified personages, and directed that the whole of them should be taken away, with the exception of a sitting for the lady of the lord president. At the time of the king's visit, an angry controversy was raging between the corporation

and the chapter about the seats for the authorities of the city. The representatives of the city claimed to occupy the stalls on the north side next the pulpit, which the Archdeacon of York challenged for himself and his brother-archdeacons. The king would make no order in the matter, and the dean and chapter were, of course, the masters. The authorities of the city, however, treated the matter as a great grievance, and it was not finally settled until Sir George Jeffreys, in the reign of James II., decided against the corporation. In 1637 Charles sent a letter to the corporation which gave high displeasure. He ordered them to dispense with the sword and mace when they came to the minster, and directed them to receive the Holy Communion there on certain occasions in the year. They met in high dudgeon on the receipt of this mandate, and resolved to attend the minster on the following Sunday with sword and mace 'abased,' or lowered, thus evading the command. The ensigns of civic power are now borne aloft as before, and the presence of the lord mayor and his companions at the Holy Communion is a thing unknown. In the time of Charles I., and before his day, the corporation put on their robes in a deserted chantry-chapel in the north aisle of the nave, which was known as the lord mayor's walk, and made use of the nave as a common promenade. The dean and chapter tried to stop this evil practice in 1632, but it was not until the end of the century that they were able to succeed. The minster was not the only place where the lord mayor was aggressively jealous of his dignity. On May-day, 1633, Strafford, then lord president, sent his secretary, Mr. Little, to the chief officer

of the city, with a message that 'his lordship did much marveile and wonder wherein he had deserved soe ill ether at the cittye's handes, or at my lord maior's handes, as that my lord maior would take upp the stall in Belfrey church, wherein formerly both the presidents and vice-presidents have sitten.'

The year 1640 witnessed the beginning of troubles in Yorkshire. Twice during the century had the citizens of York been heavily burdened with ship-money; they had now to submit to far heavier claims upon their purses. In July the gentlemen of the county met and petitioned the king, not only against the unruliness of the soldiers who were on the way for the North, but against having them billeted upon them. The best answer to this discontent and confusion was the presence of the king himself, who came to York on August 23, and was welcomed with the customary gifts and festivities. He soon recognised the gravity of the crisis, and, on the 31st, rode around the city, examining the fortifications, and marking out new works by which they would be strengthened. On September 7 the royal army, which, as the Earl of Rutland tells us, was 14,000 strong, under Sir Jacob Astley, arrived, and lay in Clifton Fields and Bishop's Fields, which were connected by a bridge of boats. Here the troops continued for three weeks or more, until the cold weather drove them into the towns and villages. In the same month, through Strafford's influence, Charles induced the county gentlemen to muster the train-bands, and, pleased at the result, rewarded his favourite adviser by creating him a K.G., at a special chapter of the order summoned for that purpose. But,

better than that, he summoned a council of peers, which met in the hall of the deanery on September 24, and continued their deliberations to the end of October, but without any practical result, and then the court removed to London. In the same month the citizens prayed the commander-in-chief to release them from the burden of the billeting of the soldiery, and prayed to no purpose.

In the beginning of November a parliament met in London. The chief incident in the earlier part of this session was the fall of Strafford, the greatest Yorkshireman of his day. With him fell the Court of the North, of which he was the last president. His shield, with many quarterings, may still be seen over the door of the manor, where he long resided. It was his great influence that drew to the king's side so many of the Yorkshire gentry and commons, and he inspired Charles with some of his own great love for his native county. On November 20, 1641, when his trusty servant was in his grave, Charles entered York in the evening by torchlight. He dined with Christopher Croft, the lord mayor, on the Sunday following, and made him a knight. The manor had, probably, some melancholy associations for the king, and he took up his abode in Sir Arthur Ingram's house, the old archiepiscopal palace in the minster precinct. There the citizens presented to him a petition for the restoration of the Court of the North, which had added greatly to the wealth and importance of the city, but the restoration was out of Charles's power. After a very brief sojourn, the royal party seems to have returned hastily to London.

On Saturday, March 17, 1641-2, the king returned

to York for a long visit, delighted to escape from London and the parliament. He was much attached to the place, and speaks of it to the corporation as 'my beloved city of York.' He brought with him his eldest son, and supporters from all parts of the country came flocking into the place. The royal press, with Robert Barker at its head, came with the king and was located in St. William's College, and a goodly store of pamphlets soon attested its activity. Charles would fain have brought the courts of law also, as in ancient days, but he could not compass their removal. As it was, Lord Chief Justice Banks made his appearance in May. The Lord Keeper also arrived, bringing with him the Great Seal, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but without his money. On the 16th of April, Lord Hertford reached the city, bringing James, the king's second son, on whom, out of compliment to the place, the title of Duke of York was bestowed. On St. George's day, the 23rd, there was high festival kept, and at a meeting of the Knights of the Garter, in the chapter-house, the boy was, with great ceremony, enrolled as a knight companion of that noble brotherhood.

Soon after Charles's arrival, a petition was presented to him, signed by many of the freeholders who had come up to the assizes, asking him to consider the state of the Protestants in Ireland, and to make an early reconciliation with the parliament. To this the corporation demurred, and, on the 4th of April, stated that the petition came down from London in print and that they had nothing to do with it. They drew up, therefore, a declaration of their own, thanking the king for his blessings and favours, and expressing their hope that

his endeavours for an understanding with his parliament might be crowned with success. This destroyed the sting of the previous document. At the end of the month the fruitless journey of Charles to Hull took place, and Sir John Hotham's refusal to admit him was practically the beginning of the civil war. The king returned to York in high dudgeon. Negotiations now took place in York between commissioners representing the parliament and the king's party, but without result.

The peril of the times now gave Charles a pretext for asking the Yorkshire gentry to defend his person from violence, which they promised to do, and on the 2nd of May the corporation of York made the same pledge. On the 15th the king questioned the lord mayor about the train-bands of the city and Ainsty, and asked what officers they had. The mayor replied that they stood in need of commanders; and then the king asked him to name the superior officers they would like to have. Charles's appeals for help found many attentive ears. On the 21st of May, nearly two hundred Yorkshire gentlemen came into York to offer their services, and 'for some time there was a continuous stream of noble-men and gentlemen making their way northwards.' Charles was especially anxious to have the suffrages of the people of Yorkshire with him, and to secure them he summoned a vast county meeting, which was held on Heworth Moor on June 3. The king spoke, so far as speaking was possible, but the numbers present were too large, perhaps, for the real opinion of the multitude to be decisively expressed or gauged; still a very strong feeling of loyalty evidently pervaded a great number, if not the majority, of those present.

Each side now hurried on its military preparations ; and on the 23rd of August the royal standard was set up at Nottingham. It is said that the fears of the Yorkshire royalists, who dreaded the horrors of war, prevented that very serious step from being taken in the capital of their own county. Henry, earl of Cumberland, took the command of all the military forces of Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Glemham acting under him in York itself. The fortifications were at once seen to, and, as the Fairfaxes were near and likely to be aggressive, Glemham threw a garrison into Pontefract, and skirmished with the Fairfaxes. He did so with such poor success that the Earl of Newcastle was summoned out of the north. He entered York on the 3rd of December, and the Earl of Cumberland resigned his command into his hands. Field operations against the parliamentary forces now ensued, but not with sufficient energy to ensure success in the guerilla warfare which was most efficacious in the West Riding. The magazines of the city were in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, whilst that of the Merchant Tailors' was given up to the maimed soldiers. One of the first acts of Newcastle in York was to press for the re-election, for the third time, of Sir Edmund Cowper, the royalist lord mayor. To this the citizens demurred, as it was contrary to their charter. Newcastle, however, was resolute. On January 15, Sir Thomas Glemham, the governor, and Captain Throckmorton, came into the court of the city and directed that no election should be made ; and, to make things safe, Glemham went to the common hall, got the keys from the woman who was laying the cushions for the meeting, and when the aldermen and

councillors made their appearance the place was filled with two hundred musketeers and pikemen. Cowper continued in his office, unsworn, until the summer of 1644. During this time, military law, and often no law, was paramount in York. Drake, using the MS. to which he often refers, speaks of the misery of the system of billeting. Affrays were of nightly occurrence, as the city was full of soldiers; and Sir Thomas Glemham on several occasions nearly lost his life in endeavouring to pacify the combatants. The number of prisoners who were taken from time to time added to the confusion. In the month of May the corporation complain of the state of the city, especially of the destruction of the fences in the neighbourhood for fuel, and the hindering and plundering of the market-folk from the country when they tried to bring in their produce for sale.

On the 8th of March, 1642-3, the queen reached York from Holland, having landed with difficulty, and bringing with her a large store of munitions of war. The boldness of her enterprise, and the perils she had gone through to succeed in it, touched the hearts of Yorkshiremen, and her progress from Bridlington to York was a veritable triumph. The guns, etc., which came with the queen enabled the city to be fortified; many of them being placed on the walls and in commanding situations. Clifford's tower was repaired and strengthened with fortifications and a drawbridge, and the city was ordered to supply 549*l.*, the provision, for three months, of the two hundred soldiers who were to guard it. Barricades were erected at several points in the streets. As many as sixteen hundred men were employed to repair the walls and scour or deepen the ditches

below them. This was chiefly carried out at the expense of the city. Every citizen had to pay £2 per month for the maintenance of a soldier, in addition to other costs; and each gave free quarters in his house to several others. They would then realise to the full many of the horrors and privations of war.

The presence of the queen served as a kind of magnet to attract several wavering politicians. The chief of these was the Earl of Montrose—more famous, perhaps, for the conclusion of his career than for his successes in arms. Sir Hugh Cholmeley, one of the old parliamentary commissioners, was another accession; and the Hothams showed some sign of that changing sides which they subsequently carried into effect. The queen remained in York until the 6th of June, when she went southward to join her husband, under the escort of the Earl of Newcastle. The beginning of 1644 saw Colonel, or, rather, Lord Bellasis, deputy-governor of York, who soon showed his incapacity for command. It was to him that the disastrous action at Selby, in the month of April, was due, where a large royalist force was dispersed or captured, Bellasis himself being one of the prisoners. This defeat threw the country open and exposed York itself to the troops of the parliament. A fiery post was sent after Newcastle, who was facing the Scots in the north, and he returned in haste, reaching York with six thousand men on April 19, scarcely expecting to find it safe. He was followed, and even outstripped in one direction, by the Scots under Leslie, and the siege of the city was now taken seriously in hand. Lord Fairfax and his son faced that portion of the walls which lay between the Ouse and the Red Tower, past

Walmgate Bar, cutting York off from the Hull road, whilst the Scots kept guard over the walls on the Micklegate side of the river. But the city was far from being hemmed in, and, to complete the blockade, the Earl of Manchester was sent for, and he sat down before the Bootham side; but he had more ground to attend to than his men could watch, and there was but little union and sympathy among their commanders. The Scots and Fairfax were connected by a bridge of boats thrown over the river at Fulford. Inside the city every preparation of defence seemed to have been made, and the river, which cut the city in two, added largely to the capabilities of resistance. Clifford's Tower, also, had been converted into a position of considerable strength.

The siege practically commenced on the 3rd of June, and in a very short time the outlying forts and the suburbs were captured, but a sally from the city was successful, and the suburbs were burnt down, which had become a comfortable shelter for the aggressors. The incidents of the siege, which lasted for six weeks, were comparatively few. The minster, which might have been a mark for almost every shot, seems to have been spared by common consent; but one or two of the churches inside the walls were injured, and those of St. Nicholas and St. Maurice on the outside received great damage. The most serious conflict occurred on Trinity Sunday, June 16. Manchester's troops were operating against the fortifications in Bootham, where the fence-wall of St. Mary's Abbey made a double line of defence. In the angle formed by the main street of Bootham and Marygate was, and still is, a round tower of stone, called Marygate Tower, which had for a long time been

used as a record office for the north. In it the charters and books taken from the Yorkshire monasteries at their suppression had been deposited, and were in the charge of a record-keeper who was a patent-officer of the crown ; and among these muniments, as if by a happy prescience, Roger Dodsworth had been engaged, making those invaluable transcripts of which Dugdale obtained much of the credit as well as the use. By the cruel exigencies of war this tower was a point of attack, and a mine under it was sprung on the Sunday morning, whilst the congregation in the minster was keeping the festival of the Trinity. General Crawford led the assailants, who bounded over the breach into the orchard of the manor, and thence into the bowling-green ; but Crawford had acted by himself with no supports to back him, and Newcastle's famous regiment of Whitecoats, by a quick movement, got between the enemy and the breach, so that ingress or egress was impossible. After a stubborn resistance, in which many fell, at least two hundred of Crawford's soldiers were captured. The royalists, however, were taken by surprise, and Colonel Byron was shot whilst he was opening the folding doors of the bowling-green to get at the foe, and other officers fell at the same time. But the most serious disaster, greater by far than the capture of the city, was the irreparable loss to history by the destruction of the records preserved in the devastated tower.

York, all this while, was very much overcrowded not only by the soldiers, but by the number of gentlemen out of the country who were in the city with their families. The registers of the churches testify to the great influx of strangers. Very happily there was no

epidemic. But the siege did not last long enough to bring home to the inhabitants the most bitter horrors of war. It was a novelty to the York people, and many of them met it with something like light-heartedness and a kind of festive intrepidity. A good laugh would run through the city at the story of old Mrs. Clark being knocked under her own table by two dried salt-fishes which a cannon-shot had dislodged from the fleak over her head. Between York and Pontefract fire-signals flashed, bringing a returning message of greeting and encouragement. But the serious side of the crisis was by no means lost sight of. A great lover of music, Thomas Mace, has placed on record the enormous congregations that thronged to the minster Sunday after Sunday during the siege, and the glorious psalm-singing which filled the spacious building from end to end. He speaks also of a stray cannon-ball finding its way into the cathedral church and dancing in and out among the pillars like a child at play. But this must have been a very rare occurrence, as no injury was done to anyone in the place.

At the end of June the siege was raised for a few days. Rupert came hastening out of Lancashire, by special order of Charles, to rescue his faithful and beloved city. His coming was known to the garrison for some time, and, to gain delay, they proposed and carried on with the besiegers some negotiations of surrender. On June 30 the forces of the parliament heard of Rupert's nearness, and, fearing to be caught in the trenches, crossed the river by a secret and well-organised movement, and drew themselves up on Marston Moor, to bar the approach of the relieving army. But Rupert

avoided them altogether by throwing his army across the river, and he was thus able to approach York without finding a single enemy in the front. He seized a bridge of boats at Poppleton, and rode up with a small party to the city on the 1st of July.

A council of war was immediately held to determine what should be done next. Newcastle was for waiting, but Rupert was for instantaneous action. As a ground for his opinion he mentioned a command which he had received from the king to fight for the relief of York, ignoring the needlessness of a battle when the place was relieved already. Newcastle gave way very unwillingly. All this day, the Monday, the parliamentary troops were waiting for a possible attack on Marston Moor, seven miles distant, but, as none came, they moved southward on the Tuesday morning. Soon, however, it became evident that the royal army was coming up the moor from Poppleton Ferry as if in pursuit, and, with a considerable effort, the allied forces were brought back and placed in battle array. I shall not tell again the tale of the conflict. It began, unexpectedly, very late in the day, and ended in an irretrievable disaster to the royalists. It decided the fate of York and most of the northern fortresses, and, like Towton Field, and other great struggles, might very properly be called the Battle of York. It was more, however, than a single defeat. It showed decisively that a few trained regiments were more than a match for a host of volunteers, however eager they might be. It was the patient endurance of two or three Scotch regiments, well tried and seasoned in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, that turned Marston fight into a victory instead of a defeat.

Sir Thomas Glemham had been left behind, in York, with a single regiment and the train-bands, and there were sad consternation and grief when the fugitives came hurrying up to Micklegate Bar when the battle was over. There is a tradition that the churches were filled that evening with anxious congregations praying for the success of their friends in the field. It records the dismay with which they rushed out, when they heard the clatter of the troops in the streets, to assist the wounded as they poured into the city, and to listen to the story of the fight. The most serious part of the disaster, perhaps, was the retirement of Newcastle and many of his friends on the morrow from any further participation in the campaign. Rupert was of sterner mould; but too many of his companions hastened to Scarborough from York and crossed over to Hamburg. The capture of York was now only a question of time. Glemham began by making a show of resistance, but was soon obliged to ask for terms, which he obtained. They were of the most easy and generous description, and the intrepid governor deserved them. On the 16th of July he was to surrender the city, with its forts, artillery, and munitions of war. The defenders, with their arms and belongings, were to march out towards Skipton, with 'flying coullors, drums beating, matches lighted on both ends, bullet in their mouth, and every soldier shall have xii charges of powder.' They were not to march more than ten miles a day, and a troop of horse out of each of the three victorious armies was to act as a convoy. All sick soldiers, unable to be moved at present, were to follow them on their recovery. Two parts of any future garrison of the city should consist of Yorkshiremen, and there

should be no free quartering. The citizens should enjoy their old trading privileges, and they, with all residents and sojourners, should have passes for themselves and their property, and the same boon should be granted to any citizen who happened to be non-resident. Plundering should be strictly prohibited and the laws should be duly enforced, whilst all churches and public buildings should be treated with respect. These terms were observed with tolerable exactness, although some complaints were made; and, on the day appointed, the gallant defenders of York, reduced to a thousand in number, filed out of the city through Micklegate Bar. The conquerors lined the road along which they marched for the distance of a mile, and, when all was over, returned to the city, where Master Robert Douglas, *more Scotico*, conducted a service of thanksgiving in the minster. The three armies now separated. Lord Fairfax was constituted governor of the city by the parliament, and on July 25 the corporation presented to him a butt of sack and a tun of French wine 'in regard of the great love and affection he hath shown to the city.' It was to his great influence, no doubt, that the favourable terms were due which the citizens had been fortunate enough to obtain, and he has always been regarded as the protector of the minster during and after the siege.

Changes, however, soon took place. On October 24 the corporation ordered that on Thursday next the Solemn League and Covenant should be tendered at All Saints' Pavement to the aldermen and citizens, a most objectionable proceeding to many. In January 1644-5 a clean sweep was made in the corporation: Sir Edmund

Cowper reigned no longer, and six royalist aldermen were displaced. The election of the new chief magistrate was prefaced by a sermon at the minster, and that of the aldermen by one at All Saints' Pavement, to which parish five out of the six belonged. In the same year a most important change was made. By ordinance of parliament, made on June 20, the six northern counties, together with Notts, the city of York, and the town of Hull, were associated together and put under the rule of a committee, empowered to raise money and keep in safety the large district of which they had the charge. The work of the York committee began on July 17, 1645, and came to an end in the summer of 1652. Their act-book is in existence, and is a very curious document. The regular attenders were five well-known citizens, Leonard and Henry Thompson, John Geldart, Stephen Watson, and Robert Horner, and they administered the law, especially in the matter of sequestrations, with considerable rigour. A few extracts from their book will be both interesting and new, but they must be restricted to one or two subjects.

It must be remembered that there was no archbishop in the diocese, and no dean. John Williams, the primate, was living in compulsory retirement in Wales, and John Scott, the dean, died in 1646 in the precincts of the King's Bench, a prisoner for debt. The dean's widow and children were allowed to occupy the deanery for a while, until some injuries within the house, which were laid to her charge, compelled the committee to remove her. The fabric of the minster was carefully attended to. It was kept in repair, and the stipends of the fabric-keeper, clock-keeper, vergers, and librarian

were paid by special order of Lord Fairfax when he became governor of the city. A considerable sum of money was also spent upon the bells a few years before the Restoration, in the collection of which in the city Sir Thomas Dickinson took a great interest. There is a story that the glorious chapter-house was doomed to destruction, but it needs confirmation. The transference of the charge of the minster from the chapter to the city authorities caused some little friction. In August 1645 an inventory was made of the plate and furniture, and Dr. Phineas Hodson, the chancellor, was ordered to give the things over to Richard Dossie. Dr. Hodson threw some difficulties in the way, and the sequestrators were directed to take some files of musketeers with them to his house and seize what was asked for. The beautiful new organ was taken down and disposed of. Mr. Dossie was ordered to sell two large silver candlesticks, three silver boats, 'the brasse aboute the shriné called Thomas à Beckitt' (*sic*), the great brass desk which stood in the choir, and all other loose brass (inscriptions, figures, &c.), for the repair of the fabric and the bells. In June 1646 the organ-lofts and the canopies over the little altars in the side choir were taken away, as well as the font. This must have been a fine structure, and it is mentioned by John Bosswell as being richly ornamented with coats-of-arms. In April 1647 a cushion was ordered to be made out of part of the dossal, which was of wrought satin, parti-coloured red and green. I need not say that the mayor and corporation settled their old dispute with the archdeacons about their seats in the minster just as they liked. They chose their places and secured them with

locks and keys and vergers. The library, happily, was left untouched, but was thrown open to the public, to which there could be little objection. The collection, after the noble gift of her husband's books by Mrs. Matthew had been received, was enriched by several other benefactors, especially by Sir Ferdinando Fairfax. It was placed in the building now occupied as the archbishop's registry, the windows of which were then bright with coats-of-arms placed there by Thomas Haxey, the treasurer of the cathedral, very early in the fifteenth century.

The old rulers of the minster were gone. The precentor and chancellor, Drs. Stanhope and Hodson, were expelled, and died soon after their removal. The keys of the building were placed in the charge of the mayor and corporation! Four city preachers, approved by the Assembly of Divines, were now the chief ecclesiastics in the city, and were paid out of the revenues of the cathedral. Two of these preached at the minster, and the other two at All Saints' Pavement. In 1649, when the parliament demurred to the estates of the church being used for their maintenance, a tax was laid upon the city for their support, as well as for the care of the minster itself.

Much mischief was done outside the minster. The cross in Thursday Market was cleared of its images. On March 30, 1646, all superstitious pictures in glass and images in the churches were ordered to be broken, and this was soon followed by the removal of the fonts. In April 1648 as many as twenty-four churches in the city were pastorless, the vacancies not having been filled up, that various parishes might be united. As the

union seemed to be in the distance, the corporation was ordered to provide 'Godly and orthodox divines' to take their place in the churches. There was also a fruitless desire for the establishment of an university in the city. In November 1647 Thomas Broad was ordered to print 300 copies of a petition to parliament for that purpose. Broad was the Puritan printer. His Royalist brother, Stephen Bulkeley, was dragged before the committee in March 1645-6, and his house was searched for printed books and the tools of his craft. He survived the Commonwealth to issue from his press, during the reign of Charles II., book after book printed in type and on paper of the most miserable description.

The oppression exercised by the committees, and the tyranny of the so-called religious sects, following after the execution of Charles and the abolition of regal government, created a revulsion of feeling in Yorkshire and throughout the country. Cromwell was able to keep this discontent in check, but, after his decease, the desire for a free parliament and the restoration of the king grew very rapidly. In the autumn of 1659 Sir George Booth began a rising in Cheshire, in which Yorkshire was to have joined. Sir Philip Monckton, who was in York, was to have seized the city, and Lord Fairfax, who was disgusted with the condition of public affairs, was to have come in and headed the movement. The attempt at York was delayed, and meanwhile negotiations went on between Fairfax and Monk, Brian Fairfax being the medium, and his romantic account of his adventures is an interesting contribution to history. Edward Bowles was also very actively concerned in the intrigue—a Presbyterian divine of high character and

position. York was then under the charge of Colonel Lilburn, an officer of General Lambert, who represented the government. Fairfax at last took a bold step. On January 3, 1659-60, he went to Marston Moor, with some levies which he had collected, to meet, by invitation, a portion of Lambert's army. The gallant old commander left his sick-bed at Arthington and rode off to the old battle-field in spite of the gout, and, to all outward appearance, there would have been a fight, but the presence of Fairfax exercised a magical charm; Lambert's soldiers rushed to their old leader, and a bloodless victory was won. York, as was natural, soon took the same side, the Royalists being greatly aided by Sir Philip Monckton, who has left a graphic narrative of his proceedings, which shows that he could wield the pen successfully as well as the sword. Monk was then sent for and entered the city on the 11th, leaving it on the 15th for the south. But the Restoration was very much due to Fairfax, to whom, as a special mark of honour, was entrusted the charge of going to the Hague to invite Charles to return. He went on this pleasant expedition with a gallant company on May 18. Exactly a week before this Charles was proclaimed king in York by the lord mayor and the authorities of the city with vast rejoicings. A thousand citizens in arms, and two hundred gentlemen of the county, with Lord Fairfax at their head, rode in the procession, with their hats aloft on the points of their swords. The old city was wild with frantic demonstrations of joy. On the 29th of the same month Fairfax took part in a more brilliant scene of triumph—the entrance of Charles into London—and it would be a source of no little pride to him to see that

the king was riding on a horse which he had given him, bred in his own famous stud at Nun-Appleton. He had given Charles a mount in more ways than one.

The Restoration was followed by considerable changes at York. Many of the aldermen and councillors were removed from the corporation, and, in the city as well as in the minster, every effort was made to put things into order and to get rid of objectionable men. But the old Puritanical feeling was still strong, and could not be easily repressed. The inability of Charles to make peace among the various classes of his subjects, and the dislike with which they regarded his libertinism and extravagance, soon bore their fruits. The records of the northern assizes and quarter sessions show how in the pulpit, the tavern, and the street, men were sighing after the old days of Oliver and Lambert, and speaking out their minds regardless of consequences. The troubles with the Nonconformists in 1661-2 made the position still more dangerous. Stern measures of repression were adopted, without diminishing the resistance of many. In 1663 something like a rebellion on a small scale broke out near Leeds, extending to various parts of the county, which resulted in a special assize at York and the condemnation and execution of twenty-one prisoners.

Three years after this the outbreak of the plague in London drove King Charles to Oxford, and, for the same cause, his brother James paid a two months' visit to the northern city which gave him his title. On this occasion he was very heartily welcomed, but when he revisited York in 1679 there was no pomp, no riding to Tadcaster to meet him, but an address only in the

royal lodging, which was the ancient residence of the treasurer of the minster, now known by the name of Gray's Court. This apparent neglect gave great offence to the king, and much more to the duke, who was slow at all times to forgive.

In 1682 the king made Sir John Reresby governor of York, with 500 men to garrison Clifford's Tower and fill the guard-houses and the bars. Sir John was, practically, to supersede the lord mayor, and took up his residence at the manor, where he kept something like open house, although he frankly confesses 'that York was at that time one of the most factious towns of the kingdom.' Faction then was merely independence. The York men very naturally wished to have some say in the choice of their mayor, members of parliament, and high steward, and aroused thereby the anger of the court. Things went from bad to worse. In 1684 Charles got the city's charter into his hands on a writ of *quo warranto*, and retained it during his life. About the same time Clifford's Tower was accidentally set on fire and dismantled, an incident which could not fail to excite some suspicion and annoyance in London.

When James came to the throne in 1685, political and religious feeling ran so high in York that five aldermen and several members of the common council were arrested and sent to prison at Hull. We can, fortunately, travel through the local history of the time in the autobiographical memoir which Sir John Reresby has left to us. Thanks to that able officer, a reconciliation was effected between the king and the York people, which resulted in the grant of a new charter.

This arrived in August 1685, and was welcomed with tumultuous rejoicings.

In January 1686 an unhappy occurrence took place in the minster. The body of Lady Strafford, the daughter-in-law of the great minister of Charles I., was brought to the cathedral to be interred in the vault of the Wentworths. A great crowd had assembled, and rushed at the hearse to tear down the escutcheons with which it was decorated. Reresby's soldiers came to the rescue, but they were unpopular at that time, and the riot grew fiercer. It was only after a somewhat serious struggle in the minster itself that the troopers were able to withdraw from the scene of violence. Not many years before this, the dean and chapter, at the instigation of Dr. Lake, had at last prevented the people from using the nave of the cathedral as a common walk. This prohibition caused a riot, in which the life of Dr. Lake was in peril, and his house and that of the dean were seriously attacked.

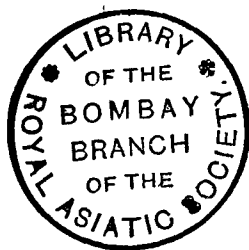
Towards the close of 1687 the king made a change in York which was exceedingly ominous. He took away the manor from Sir John Reresby, his own governor of the city, and granted a lease of it for thirty-one years to Henry Lawson, Esq., of Brough, a Roman Catholic, the real lessee being Father Lawson, his brother. Reresby was vexed at the treatment he had received, but was far too cautious to insist upon his legal rights. He heard from Father Lawson that the grant of the lease was, according to the king's view, 'for the honour of God and the good of his people.'

The year 1688 saw a still further development of the king's policy. He seemed to regard the public

offices and posts of honour in Yorkshire and elsewhere as the means whereby his religion might be advanced. He found opponents everywhere. Through the energy of the Dean of York and Thomas Comber, the precentor, the royal proclamation for liberty of conscience was read in scarcely one of the York churches. An attempt 'to purge the corporation' and substitute a number of Roman Catholics for friends of the popular cause was equally unsuccessful. But the York people became still more seriously alarmed when a Roman Catholic prelate, James Smith, bishop of Callipolis, made his appearance at the manor on August 2, where a chapel was prepared and consecrated, with every appearance of the setting up of a seminary or collegiate establishment. Dr. Smith had been nominated by the king as one of the four vicars apostolic among whom England was portioned out, each of whom was to receive an annual stipend of 1,000*l.* out of the revenues of the State. And an alarming rumour sprang up that this was the person whom the king was actually intending to prefer to the archiepiscopate of York, a post which he had kept significantly vacant for more than two years.

This translation was not to take place. On November 22, when great events had occurred in the south, the Earl of Danby, leading a party of the chief persons in the county, raised the cry in York of 'a free parliament, the Protestant religion, and no popery!' Four troops of militia at once came over to the insurgents, with their officers. The gates of the city were then occupied, the magazine and stores seized, and Sir John Reresby, still the nominal

governor, was made a perhaps not unwilling prisoner. One of William of Orange's first acts after landing at Torbay, was to give the vacant archbishopric of York to Bishop Lamplugh of Exeter, who had hastened to welcome him. Bishop Smith's chance was over. He was attacked by a mob whilst he was imprudently taking part in a procession in one of the York streets, his crozier is said to have been taken from him by Danby himself, and the Roman Catholic chapels were sacked and destroyed. The poor bishop found a home at Wycliffe on the Tees, where Mr. Tunstall sheltered him until his decease in 1710. His beautiful silver crozier, a gift from Catherine of Braganza, whose arms it bears, was sent to the vestry of York minster, where it is still treasured. It is a fine piece of metal-work, richly ornamented, and seven feet in length. Danby, in opposition to the popular opinion that success needs no justification, thought fit to defend his proceedings in a small pamphlet, intituled 'The Justice of the Gentlemen's Undertaking at York.'



PART II

CHURCH HISTORY, EDUCATION, AND CHARITIES

CHAPTER I

Early Christianity—Building and restoration of the minster—Ornaments and influence—Archbishop's palace—Services and gifts of archbishops—Constitution of the Church and growth and privileges of the Chapter.

THE ecclesiastical history, not only of York but of the shire in which it stands, centres in York minster. This stately building, which has kept the city together, has a well authenticated history of its own dating from the year A.D. 627. But three, and probably four, centuries before this, there was a series of Romano-British bishops in the city, supervising Christian congregations. The bishops of York, or Eburacum, were recognised in the ecclesiastical world, and were present at the councils of Arles, Nicæa, Sardica, and Ariminum. They disappear from traditional history not very long after the departure of the Romans, showing that the Anglian invasion brought the succession to an end. No traces whatever of Christian buildings or monuments of this early period have been found in the city, and nothing has been discovered save one or two small objects marked

with Christian symbols, which are preserved in the museum.

Christianity revived first in the south, and the sees of Canterbury, London, and Rochester were in existence when Paulinus came as a missionary from Kent into Yorkshire in 625. The series of Bishops or Archbishops of York commences with him. Within two years Paulinus had won over the king and his court, and, on Easter-day 627, Eadwin, king of Northumbria, with his family and courtiers, was solemnly baptized at York. A little chapel of wood was hastily constructed for the ceremony, around which the noble convert proceeded to erect at once a building of stone. This was incomplete when Eadwin was killed in battle in 633, but, after a short interval, it was finished by Oswald, and, in the latter part of the same century, was repaired and ornamented by Wilfrith. In the eighth century one of those plagues of York, a fire, necessitated something like a rebuilding of the minster by Aelberht, and to this early period may, perhaps, be ascribed some walls still visible in the crypt. This building would probably stand in need of repairs after the capture of York by the Danes in 867, but there is every reason to believe that it was in existence until it was either destroyed entirely, or so greatly injured in the insurrections of the time, or by the merciless savagery of William the Conqueror, that an entirely new church became a positive necessity. This was begun and completed by Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman archbishop, and, to judge what it was like, the sister minster of Southwell should be carefully studied. Another fire, which injured St. William's shrine, gave an excuse to

Archbishop Roger for building a new choir in the 12th century, of which there are some remains below ground. The erection of the present transepts in the 13th century was the next change, followed by the reconstruction of the nave, which lasted from 1291 to 1340. Next in order came a new choir built between 1361 and, say, 1401, and then the old Norman tower in the centre was re-cased to bring it into something like harmony with the changes on every side. The upper part of the western towers was constructed later in the same century, together with the beautiful choir-screen, which really serves as a buttress to give strength to the two vast pillars of the lantern-tower which lean against it. This is a brief summary of the architectural history of the building, which has been excellently described elsewhere. For the Norman work you must look in the crypt. The transepts represent the Early English style; the nave and the chapter-house the Decorated; and the choir and the towers the Perpendicular. If we duly estimate the breadth, height, and length of the minster together, it is, perhaps, the most spacious of the great churches in England. In length it falls short of one or two, but the excess in their case is owing to the space gained by excrescences in the shape of chapels being counted in.

The low situation of the minster detracts, no doubt, considerably from its importance; still it is exceedingly fine and stately and at unity with itself. The outside is better than the inside. The interior suffered very greatly in the two fires of 1829 and 1840, in which the roofs of the choir and nave were burnt off and the wood-work destroyed; indeed, it was a matter of grave doubt

whether the choir would stand, as the action of the water thrown upon the heated pillars of limestone caused great fragments to flake off from them to a very alarming extent. These dreadful injuries, sufficient in themselves to overwhelm many ecclesiastical corporations, have been happily surmounted, chiefly through the munificence of Yorkshiremen; but it is only within the last twenty years that the liabilities, in which the dean and chapter had involved themselves that they might restore their church, have been entirely discharged. The south transept, one side of which showed some signs of shrinking, was made safe in 1872 and 1873 at a very considerable outlay, and, before another generation passes away, the far more serious undertaking of the restoration of the west front must be taken in hand. When that is begun, it is to be hoped that the statues and sculpture upon that glorious façade will be replaced, and the flying buttresses restored on both sides of the nave. They appear in the engraving of the minster by Vivares, made in the beginning of the last century.

There is a considerable fabric fund attached to the minster, but it is quite unable to meet any very large and sudden claim upon it; and the perishable character of the stone out of which the cathedral is built makes reparation continually necessary. In any great emergency the dean and chapter can always appeal with confidence to the munificence of Yorkshiremen. The minster is the one building which attracts all natives of the county to it, wherever they may be. It has been chiefly built in years gone by with their alms, and what their ancestors did the men of to-day are

ready to repeat. Every native of the district feels that he has a share in it. York minster, like a mother, binds the three Ridings together, and each vies with the other in reverence and affection. Those who witnessed the deep distress evinced by the spectators of the two great fires can never forget it. Any attempt to remove or injure the noble building of which the great county is so proud would be vigorously resisted.

The central point in the minster in old days, whether for beauty or for ornament, was the high altar, which stood against a screen of wood (now taken away), a bay westward from the present screen of stone. The space between the two screens sheltered the famous shrine of St. William, in which his head, in a richly jewelled case, was shown to the devout worshipper. Along the top of the wooden screen, which was finely ornamented and gilt, there was a passage in which musicians were placed on high-festivals, to give an additional dignity to the services, and in the centre, 'high and lifted up,' there was a magnificent rood. The altar on great days was ornamented with a table and retable of silver, on which some of the most precious treasures of the church would be exhibited. There was little or no painting on the walls and roofs to set the building off, and it was not necessary. There was colour of a different kind in gorgeous profusion, and it met the eye in a thousand beautiful hues, and on every side, in the gloriously decorated windows which have made York minster famous throughout Europe. When the priest at the high altar was looking eastward, the rood above him would appear to be enshrined in the rich colours of the east window, which set forth in a wonderful order the

story of the Old Testament from beginning to end. If he turned westward, right in front of him, in the distance, was another stately window, Archbishop Melton's noble gift, filled with saints and bishops, on whom the setting sun seemed to be always shining. But there was stained glass everywhere. On his right hand, in the place of dignity, there arose, in storey after storey, from the floor almost to the roof, the whole history of St. William, the patron saint of the cathedral; whilst, on the left, in the corresponding transept and in a window of similar proportions, the piety of a dean of York, who had been elevated to the great see of Durham as well as to the cardinalate, had set up the whole touching narrative of the life and wanderings of his predecessor, St. Cuthbert. At every hour of the day the lights streaming from one or other of these windows would be illuminating the altar. On every side there was beautiful colouring in beautiful glass of every possible variety and execution, almost entirely, I believe, of English workmanship, and the greater part of it, most probably, wrought in York itself. And, happily, the most of it is still there, in spite of fires and lapse of time. Shattered although it is, the general effect is the same. These windows had an inspiration of old; and it is still there, and we bow as it were before the illuminated pages of a sacred book which held our ancestors in thrall.

York minster has never aspired to the honour of being anything like a national mausoleum. A little son of Edward III., William of Hatfield, is the representative of mediæval royalty that is interred here, although many of the Northumbrian kings and princes

of an earlier date are sleeping within the walls. It is the resting-place of a great number of the archbishops and of many members of the chapter. The treasurers of the church all lie, by choice, as close as possible to their great predecessor, St. William, within the four last pillars of the nave, as you walk eastwards. The vicars-choral are under the tower. In the south transept was the tombstone of a suffragan-bishop in the fifteenth century, on which it was said, with little monumental exaggeration, that you might as well try to enumerate the stars of heaven as the priests, &c., that he had made. Of great Yorkshire laymen there is only a slight sprinkling, nothing more. The Countess of Cumberland, who died in one of the prebendal houses within the close in 1643, lies against the eastern wall, and not far from her is a statue of Sir George Savile, the great Whig member for Yorkshire, set up by his constituents. Fronting him, against the opposite wall, is the vault of the Straffords. The great earl does not lie in the minster which he loved so well, but his son is there with his countess, at whose funeral there was the melancholy spectacle of a riot in the church, the soldiers being called in to prevent the populace tearing the armorial insignia from the funeral trappings. In the same vault was laid, in 1782, Strafford's illustrious kinsman, Charles, marquess of Rockingham. There is nothing to commemorate him in the minster, but in the mansion house, hard by, he still lives in the soft, attractive colouring of Reynolds.

In connection with the minster were magnificent appliances for work. In addition to the chapter, which will be spoken of afterwards, there were thirty-six vicars-

choral, one for each prebendary, and thirty-six parsons. The vicars had the charge of the singing in the choir, and lived, until about two centuries ago, in a bedern of their own, with estates appropriated for their maintenance. The parsons resided in St. William's College in Ogleforth, which was originally the house of the Prior of Hexham in Northumberland, in right of his prebend of Salton. The chantries in the minster were generally apportioned to the vicars and the parsons. There were about sixty of these in the church, and the little boxes of wood or iron in which the services were performed must have been serious obstructions. We have no pictures of the daily religious life at York as there exist at Durham, but the minster in all its glory would have been a fitting subject for any pen or pencil. The great altar on high festival days must have been ablaze with beautiful vestures and jewels. The inventory of the contents of the treasury shortly before the Reformation discloses a magnificent array of church-furniture which it would be difficult to match anywhere either for variety or richness. The sole survivor of these treasures is the grand charter-horn of Ulf, the son of Thorald, given to the minster before the Conquest, which lies near two more recently acquired curiosities, the pardon bowl given by Archbishop Scrope to the Company of Cordwainers, and the pastoral staff, bearing the arms of Catherine of Braganza, which was taken from James Smith, a Roman Catholic bishop, *in partibus infidelium*, when heading a procession in York in 1688.

The contents of the ancient treasury must have been wonderfully striking. Imagine a series of twelve mitres of which the finest had only been recently

bequeathed to the cathedral by Archbishop Rotherham ; it was set with sapphires and rubies and was valued at the very large sum of seven hundred marks. Who would not like to see the two texts, or copies of the Gospels, belonging of old to St. Wilfrith, in their jewelled covers, and written, probably, in uncial letters upon purple vellum ?—or the chalice and paten of Archbishop Gray, made of pure gold, and rough with precious stones ?—or the cross filled with reliques, the gift of Richard III. ?—or the great thurible of gold, which weighed more than seven pounds ? What has become of all these things taken away out of this and the other English cathedrals, so various in design and so exquisitely beautiful ? It seems impossible to think that they were estimated just at the prices of the metal and the stones taken by themselves, and torn in pieces, when the workmanship and the design must have added so immensely to the value of the objects as a whole.

The most remarkable ornaments, however, in the minster were those which were connected with St. William, the patron saint of the church. His tomb was at the upper end of the nave, as you moved eastward, and was covered with a towering edifice, light and graceful, which was so large that the processions were obliged to divide and march on the outsides. The head of the saint, cased in gold and jewels, was kept in a shrine in a sacred enclosure between the two choir screens, and there it was exhibited to the worshippers, who made their offerings and admired the precious gifts which others had contributed to deck the resting-place of the saint. The head was taken possession of in behalf of the Crown at the Reformation by Richard

Layton, the dean, who was one of Cromwell's creatures, and had acquired his office as a reward for his subservient help in the visitation of the religious houses in the north. It seems strange that such a church as York could not have secured the patronage of a saint at an earlier period, for William died in 1154 and was only canonised in 1284. The dean and chapter would, no doubt, have made one of their early archbishops their patron, if they could have secured his remains. Paulinus lay at Rochester, Wilfrith at Ripon, John at Beverley, and their bones were therefore unattainable. As it was, William did not possess and exhibit that reputation for learning or great deeds in religion or philanthropy which were calculated to win the admiration of the people; and the chapter, also, made their selection too late. William's fame as a saint was far inferior to that of Cuthbert of D rham—nay, the sister, or, rather, daughter minsters of Beverley and Ripon were honoured with patrons whose names were much more potent in giving dignity to the churches in which they were enshrined, and, what was of the most consequence, in bringing money, in the shape of offerings, to their coffers.

The minster and its precinct occupy the greater part of the triangle between Bootham and Monk Bar, the base of which was a severance wall which made the enclosure complete. This partition has been removed, but not so very long ago. The north side of the minster belonged to the archbishop and was occupied by his palace and chapel, the other sides chiefly by the deanery and prebendal houses. The palace was a very spacious building. A few arches of the original hall

are preserved, the work of Archbishop Roger in the twelfth century, and the beautiful chapel built by Archbishop Gray in the Early English style is now used as the chapter library. The palace was granted on long leases to the Ingram family at a time when the maintenance of so many residences was an intolerable burden to the see, and Sir Arthur Ingram, the first lessee, repaired and decorated the house, and laid out the grounds with a taste which made them for a long time one of the chief sights of the city. The large space which now constitutes the gardens of the deanery and the residence was then occupied by flower beds, and shady walks ornamented with statuary, interspersed with fish-ponds, a bowling-green, and a tennis-court. It was here that Charles I. resided during his last visit to York. The great house, however, fell into decay and the fair gardens were neglected, and, in 1817, the dean and chapter, to whom the position was of the greatest importance, were allowed by Act of Parliament to purchase them of the Marquess of Hertford, the representative of the Ingrams, and the archbishop. The price paid was 2,200*l.*, a small sum according to our present idea of their value. The old buildings on the site, which had become little better than ruins, were removed by degrees, and here a new deanery and a residence-house were erected, the old principle of having a separate abode for every prebendary having been given up. The space thus occupied is cut off from the city by iron gates and rails, and the public enjoy the privilege of a thoroughfare only by permission of the dean and chapter, the gates being occasionally locked to vindicate the right. The elm-trees in the enclosure,

originally twenty in number, were planted by Dean Markham in 1818. The palace was nearer to the minster than the present residence-house, and between it and the cathedral was a stately chapel founded in the 12th century and dedicated to St. Mary and the Holy Angels, but generally called St. Sepulchre's chapel, probably because the Easter-Sepulchre of the minster found a temporary home in it. It was under the charge of a warden and four prebendaries, and was a gem of ecclesiastical art. It was contiguous to the minster, to which it had access, and the archbishop entered it by a door at the end of a covered passage from his palace. It was by this way that the archbishop went to the minster when he resided in York; and, when he signified his intention of being present at any service, it could not begin until he had made his appearance, coming in procession through St. Sepulchre's chapel and up the nave of the minster. The chapel was restored, if not rebuilt, by Archbishop Thoresby, and was removed at the Reformation. Within the minster precinct, on several occasions, pieces of shrine and stall-work, sculptured in Derbyshire marble and of glorious beauty, have been discovered—not used, as might have been expected, as building stones, but laid in an orderly manner in the ground, as if for the purpose of concealment. It is probable enough that they were taken from this chapel and laid where they were found, in the hope that a day might come when a change in the religious sentiments of the country might sanction their re-erection.

The old deanery was on the other side of the minster, not far from the south door, and was taken

down about 1830. It was a plain but spacious building, but of no great age. In its great hall, in 1643, the commissioners appointed by Charles and the parliament tried in vain to come to a satisfactory agreement. On the east, west, and south sides of the enclosure lay the prebendal houses, of which each member of the chapter had one, which he was bound to keep in repair, that he might occupy it if he should be called upon to keep his residence, to use an official term. The church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey stands within the old enclosure, and was built by the dean and chapter early in the 16th century for the benefit of the inhabitants of the close. It was a chapel-of-ease to the minster, and its burial ground filled up all the space between the south and west doors of the cathedral. The great west doors were only opened for the reception of a king or the installation of an archbishop. The new prelate came in solemn procession to his church from St. James's chapel on the Mount, 'in the vamps of his hosen,' that is, without his shoes. We do not envy him picking his way to the west door among the grave-stones and rubbish, even though there might be carpets thrown over the ground. In the same cemetery, strange to say, fairs and other sports were occasionally held, to the great scandal of the authorities—a sample of the times when there was such a strange combination of devotion and the most unrestrained excess.

We must now speak of the constitution of the minster, with which the archbishop has a very intimate connection. Time was when the cathedral church was his *sponsa* and the close his home—when he was the head of the great school and worshipped in the church ;

when he was the father of the little society which had a voice in his official acts, and took their advice and had some of its members generally as his companions when he was directing the affairs of his vast diocese and travelling about from place to place. All this, as will be seen, has either been greatly modified or abrogated and lost. Let us look, first, at the archbishops of York in their relations to the State and to the Church. So far back as 601 Gregory sent a letter to Augustine directing that York should be a metropolitanical see as well as Canterbury; that each of the two archbishops should have twelve suffragans; and that priority of election should decide the question of seniority. It is plain that Gregory had in his mind the old position of York under the Roman emperors. But where was there room for twelve suffragans in Northumbria? Either Gregory must have been mistaken as to the size of that kingdom, or he must have intended that the see of Canterbury should be divided to make York its equal in territory. Still in Gregory's direction there was a plain, intelligible principle, if it had been carried out. The see of York commenced in 625 in the person of Paulinus, who had been the bearer of Gregory's missive. He was archbishop only in intention, as the pall which conferred that distinction reached him after he had left York for ever. Possibly its coming had been deferred until he could visit Rome to receive it himself. One hundred years elapsed after this before the pall was awarded to York again. During the first thirty years of this interregnum, York was ruled by the bishops of Lindisfarne from their wild home in the north; then the succession at York was revived, but there was no one as yet within

the kingdom of Northumbria who, in accordance with the rules of the Latin Church, could exercise any jurisdiction over a bishop. It is not wonderful, therefore, to find an energetic king like Oswiu calling on Theodore of Canterbury to exert archiepiscopal authority in a district which had no metropolitan of its own. It may seem strange that such a prelate as Wilfrith, who generally had the ear of the Roman court and had suffered so greatly in its interests, should not have had the pall given to him on one of his expeditions to Rome, but it was withheld; indeed, if it had been bestowed, it would probably have made Wilfrith's return to Northumbria impossible; and one pope after another, no doubt, deferred the boon until he saw that the Bishop of York was neither a fugitive nor under suspicion, but permanently secure in his position. In the meanwhile, during Theodore's primacy at least, the northern prelates were, without doubt, regarded and treated as suffragans of Canterbury, and Theodore cut and carved the ecclesiastical districts as he liked. With the accession of Archbishop Ecgberht in 734, York seemed to be on the high road to the position which Gregory intended it should assume, and, although the suffragans were few, it still exercised an influence for good which cannot be over-estimated. Then followed century after century of turmoil and murder during which the Archbishop of York was the only stable power on the side of religion and order. All this while the northern primate was independent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, although inferior to him, no doubt, in authority and position. After the Danes became masters of his diocese in 867, the Archbishop of York had to reckon

with them as his chiefs; and could scarcely regard the kings in the south as his masters. As the favour of the Danish princes in Northumbria veered from one point to another, so did the archbishop veer, and it was his rule for good which influenced his masters and carried the northern kingdom through innumerable trials and disasters. The kings of England considered his influence to be of the greatest importance to them, and the archbishop was allowed, either to hold, or practically to appoint to, the see of Worcester, which was regarded, as Bishop Stubbs well remarks, 'as a reward of faithfulness and a pledge of obedience.' This arrangement came to an end in 1072, when no such bond was required; but the feeling which prompted it was not extinct, and manifested itself in a different direction. When the profession of the Archbishop of York to Canterbury was made a matter of such high debate, one of Lanfranc's arguments with the king for requiring the obedience was this, that the people of the north were so different in feeling and race from the southerners, that the maintenance of the unity of the kingdom demanded one primate only with undisputed authority. By such means the discordant nationalities in the country would the sooner be welded together into one polity. And Lanfranc, for a time at least, carried his point. The three earliest Archbishops of York after the Conquest undoubtedly yielded to Canterbury, at the knife's point; but the stubborn resistance of Thurstan put an end to the demand for ever.

It cannot be said that the northern primates had an easy time of it in their external relations. They did indeed get rid of the hateful profession to Canterbury,

but they lost Worcester in 1072, and, soon after, Lindsey and Lincoln were taken away, although William Rufus gave in exchange the abbeys of Selby and St. Oswald in Gloucester—a very indifferent compensation. But the chief troubles of the archbishops were with their suffragans. At the Conquest, and for some time afterwards, the archbishops claimed the subjection of the bishops of the Isles and of the whole of Scotland, and, undoubtedly, they performed acts of visitation and consecration over and over again which gave ground for the claim. They did not, however, sufficiently take into account the fact that the old kingdom of Northumbria, through which their rights originated, was at an end, and that Scotland had kings of its own, to whom any kind of national submission was most unpalatable. There were many fierce fights which were settled finally at Rome and against York. In 1154 the two sees of Man and Orkney were transferred to the charge of the Archbishops of Drontheim, and in 1188 the Scottish Church was placed immediately under the authority of the Pope. These arrangements, it will be observed, were altogether to the exclusion of, what we may call, any English claim or jurisdiction. One Scottish prelate was left to the see of York as a suffragan—I mean the Bishop of Whithorn—and that because he was more Cumbrian than Scot; but, by the middle of the fourteenth century, that bishopric also was swallowed up by Scotland, as Galloway had become incorporated with that kingdom. Until the year 1132, when the see of Carlisle was founded, the only English suffragan of York was the Bishop of Durham, but he was far too great a man to recognise his position, or to pay respect or duty

at all times. Afterwards Sodor and Man came back into English jurisdiction, and the see of Chester was founded in 1542, which covered the range of the archdeacons of Richmond. In 1836 the diocese of Ripon was carved out of York and Chester, but the archdeaconry of Nottingham, embracing the whole of that county, was taken away and added to Lincoln. Since then various subdivisions have been made, and the Archbishop of York has now nine suffragans. The Scottish Church still holds aloof, although the national separation has come to an end. It is much to be desired that the prelates of that country should be associated again with their brothers in the south, and be linked on again to their old primatial see.

Many of the Archbishops of York have been persons of high abilities. Between the Conquest and the Reformation the chief statesmen were drawn from the upper ranks of the clergy, for they were best acquainted with men and manners, and had the largest share as well in the refinement of the time as in the wealth of the country. Their position also made them more safe than the laymen, who tried to traverse the dangerous paths of political life. I need only mention among the archbishops the great names of Gray, Melton, Thoresby, Kempe, and Wolsey. The archbishops, also, were men of splendid tastes and lavish expenditure. The minster is under the very greatest obligations to them. What would it have been without the munificent support of Wilfrith, Aelberht, Thomas I., Roger, Gray, Melton and Thoresby, who were mighty builders, or of Alexander Neville, who was a great benefactor to the fabric fund? But from the middle of the fourteenth century the

interest felt by the archbishops in the minster has undoubtedly flagged. The disagreements between them and the chapter were primarily on the question of the subdivision of the corporate estate, and then on questions of privilege, such as the right of visitation. The soreness on the subject of the estate was at its height in the days of Geoffrey Plantagenet, when the archbishop was obliged to refund large sums to the chapter of which he had unconstitutionally taken possession. The troubles about visitations began at a very early date. The archbishop never visited the minster at all before the time of Archbishop Romanus, and a series of rules was afterwards drawn up by Archbishop Melton, in accordance with which every subsequent visitation (and there have been very few of them) has been conducted—and which are still in force. The archbishop, according to the ancient statutes, is *primus in ecclesia*, that is, as to dignity and precedence. But he is not the ordinary of the minster, and it was not until the time of James I. that he had a throne or special stall assigned to him.

The early constitution of the minster is a subject of much interest. The word itself must not be regarded as identical with monastery, it simply means the ‘great church,’ as every reader of the English Chronicle will soon discover. The learned Mabillon tried very hard to show that the cathedral of York was originally occupied by Benedictine monks, but it is generally held that his arguments do not prove the case which he sets up. Everything seems to show that from the early beginning of the ecclesiastical settlement in the place the minster was in the possession of secular clergy, to whom the title of canons was given in the eighth century. Among

these, the earlier archbishops resided as their chief. The officer answering to the present dean was called *vice-dominus* or *abbas*; the head of the educational department was the *magister scholarum*, or the more modern chancellor; whilst the *custos civitatis* corresponded to the more recent treasurer. When Athelstan was in York, in the tenth century, he found the minster in the possession of the Colidei, or Culdees—secular clergy, who may be traced elsewhere, especially across the Tweed. The usual number of these Colidei in one place seems to have been seven. When Thomas I. examined into the state of his cathedral church after its destruction by William, he found only three of the seven canons remaining, and he resolved, not merely to increase the number, but to make some important changes in the constitution itself. The canons had a refectory and dormitory, the former of which had been recently built by Archbishop Ealdred; these buildings Thomas repaired, and his intention seems to have been to form a religious community, resident and living on one undivided fund; but the experiment failed and a different system was inaugurated. A dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer were created at the head of the new body, and underneath them were a number of canons or prebendaries, with power of increasing them, to each of whom a share in the common estate was cut off and assigned, and, no doubt, at the same time, the portion of the archbishop himself was set out.

The estates of the Church had been made over by English princes and nobles to the Church of York as a whole, but when the idea of a community was found to be impracticable, a division of the estates became ab-

solutely necessary. This was begun by Thomas I., but it was not before the time of Geoffrey Plantagenet that the rights of each were permanently recognised and assured. The canons, according to the spirit of that age, would look upon their prebends as estates of their own. There is a very remarkable letter from Archbishop Gerard to Anselm in existence, in which he complains of the canons of his cathedral being married and non-resident. It is quite possible also that, as in other places, the prebend would now and then descend in the family of the prebendary by hereditary succession. There are traces of this succession, against which the popes were frequently declaiming, so late as the earlier part of the thirteenth century, in the diocese of York. In the minsters of Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon a system somewhat similar to that at York prevailed. The four minsters were called the mother churches of the diocese, and from the canons was drawn the clerical council of the archbishop, the members of it from Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon being more in the character of assenters, unless their own interests were specially concerned. The chapter of York had the largest representation, and it is evident, when we regard the formal documents to which their names are attached, that they were to be regarded as trustees for the ecclesiastical estate of the diocese, and that no alienations or appropriations could be made without their approval. Archbishop Gray himself made the dean and chapter of York the owners in fee of his own residence at Bishopthorpe. It is possible enough that the council had a say in early times in the distribution of the patronage of the archbishop—it certainly had this in the case of

the prebends at York—and the early appointments bear the signatures of the members who were present. It is easy to see how this council would become burdensome on both sides, and would be gradually given up. The trusteeship however continued. Neither archbishop nor chapter could sell or lease property or appoint a patent officer without the assent of the other. The estates set apart for the archbishop were considerable, but they were heavily weighted with the dilapidations of at least a dozen palaces or large residences. The share of the dean and chapter was also large, but it was broken up by the establishment of a great number of prebends, each endowed with a share of the general estate. Each prebendary managed his own share and was responsible for a part of the burdens of the minster when help was needed. When the reform of the chapters came, some fifty years ago, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners acquired in succession the lands of the prebendaries, without recognising, however, the liabilities to which they were subject. The funds of the minster have been lessened by this arrangement, and are now barely sufficient to supply the wants of the cathedral and its staff. In spite, however, of many changes, the ancient constitution of the minster has been happily preserved. The dean and the canons form one undivided chapter. From these canons four are called into residence. They used to be appointed by the dean, but, in accordance with a recent Act of Parliament, the archbishop, in this respect, has stepped into his place.

CHAPTER II

Missionary work in England and abroad—The School of York and Alcuin and his scholars—Library and printing—St. Mary's Abbey—Monasteries and churches—St. Leonard's hospital and charities.

THE Church of York and the Northumbrian kingdom in general have been very earnest and successful in missionary work. Through Paulinus Christianity spread from Lincoln to the Frith of Forth, and Eadwin was also the means of bringing East Anglia over to the faith. A few years afterward, Oswald, who had imbibed the spirit of that great evangeliser Ædan, practically carried his religion into Wessex. Mercia followed with the help of Oswiu, the Northumbrian king, whilst little Sussex, the last unconverted kingdom, yielded to the persuasive eloquence and the philanthropy of Wilfrith. From Northumbria, therefore, flowed the Christianity of the whole of England excepting Kent. It was really the zeal of the missionaries from Iona that was the means of making Northumbria such a mighty agent in the great cause of the evangelisation of the heathen.

When England was thus won, York sought other fields to cultivate. Wilfrith, in his wanderings, first carried the truth into Friesland, and three great Northumbrian teachers, Egberht, Wigberht, and Willibrord, who became the first bishop of Utrecht, laboured in the

same district after him. At the close of the seventh century Adelberht, a Northumbrian prince, devoted himself to the conversion of North Holland. The great apostle of Germany, St. Boniface, although an Englishman, was only connected by friendship with the Archbishops of York of his day, but he drew from the school or university of York the best of his fellow-helpers in the evangelisation of Germany—such men, I mean, as Liudger, Aluberht, Sigibode, and Willehad, the first bishop of Bremen, who were specially trained by Alcuin, as that great scholar very wisely made missionary training a chief part in his curriculum. It is pretty certain, also, that York had an important share in the conversion of Denmark and Norway. Between 867 and the Conquest there was generally a Danish prince residing in York and ruling over portions of Northumbria, and there he had by his side an archbishop and his church, a religious system by which he would be sooner or later considerably influenced. Several of the archbishops themselves were Danes, and it is evident that the Northmen learnt their Christianity in the district which they had captured. We hear of various Danish princes being converted in England, and, as they were kings of Norway as well, they had the power to impress their opinions upon their subjects abroad. Olaf, the Lap king, took over several missionaries from England, among whom was Sigfrid, called an archdeacon of York, who met with considerable success in Sweden. Within a very few years after Olaf's death and canonisation there was a minster or church built and dedicated to him at York by another Dane, the official earl of Northumbria.

The services of the minster in the great cause of

education deserve also to be commemorated. The dense ignorance in which the north must have been buried in the early part of the seventh century made the school-master's work of paramount importance. The monks of Lindisfarne threw themselves, heart and soul, into the toil of teaching, but the efforts of such persons as Ædan were little more than those of a humble Sunday-school master of the present day. They were effective, however, and their very thoroughness prepared the way for the higher teaching which was to be found within the monasteries. In Lindisfarne, I suppose, would be centred all the Irish scholarship and art that had come into England through Iona, and any one who has seen the wonderful beauty of the Lindisfarne Gospels, which were written in the eighth century, will acknowledge the excellence which that school had reached. But in the seventh century the zeal of Benedict Biscop and Wilfrith introduced in Yorkshire and on the banks of the Tyne and Wear the books and arts and educational systems of France and Italy. The Codex Amiatinus, which was written at Jarrow in the eighth century, is confessedly one of the finest examples of early monastic writing. A third element, also, must be taken into account—I mean the Greek learning of Theodore of Canterbury, which found its way to various parts of England, and to the north among them. Acca of Hexham and John, bishop of York, were great masters in teaching but it was Bede who surpassed all his contemporaries and extracted the honey from every system within his reach, and it was through Bede's influence that Egberht, archbishop of York, began the famous school or university within that city, which in a very

short time, through a variety of favouring circumstances, attained the highest position in Europe. It was an educational effort, as Bede foresaw, superior to any that could be attempted at Jarrow. It was not in connection with a monastery, and was, therefore, less restricted in its aims, and had the prestige of being under the immediate charge of the archbishop, who was own brother to the King of Northumbria. The sending of the pall to Egberht from Rome, after a long interval, would mark a fresh start for the northern church in influence and authority, and was a stamp of approval upon the new university. Ample means were at hand to supply every want, and ample influence to attract students from every quarter, and the teaching power was of the very best. Through the letters and the other writings of Alcuin, the chief ornament of the York school, we are made acquainted with its system and work. Two archbishops in succession, Egberht and Aelberht, were at its head, and on Aelberht's decease Alcuin became the chief tutor. The system pursued was primarily the study of grammar, followed up by instruction in philosophy and classical lore, all of which were brought to bear upon the reading and interpretation of the Scriptures. Alcuin himself was able to give lessons in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. A list of a number of the books in the library has come down to us from the pen of the great scholar himself, proving the extent and the unique character of the collection. It is richest in the Fathers, and contains a fair number of the later Latin poets, with some treatises on philosophy and grammar. Mr. Mullinger remarks very justly upon the absence from the list of several educational works which

might reasonably have been looked for. We miss also all the Latin writers of the best age except Cicero and Virgil: to Virgil, indeed, Alcuin afterwards manifested the dislike which excludes from the York library so many of the great writers of antiquity; he had views of his own as to their propriety as well as their usefulness; they were thrown to one side, and the students were led through the most harmless of the ancient text-books up to the study of the Fathers and the Bible. Alcuin, it is well known, was tempted away to France by Charles the Great in 782, to assist him in his educational work, and the political troubles in which Northumbria was constantly involved prevented his return. Charles had a school in the palace at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, which his father, Pippin, had begun. Pippin had fallen under the influence of Boniface, who was a great promoter of learning. The teachers in his school had been Peter of Pisa and Paul the deacon, an Italian and a Lombard, both antiquated in years and in system, and it was to infuse a new educational life into Frankland that Alcuin was called away from York. He presided over it with distinguished success until the year 796, when the famous abbey of St. Martin at Tours was committed to his charge, rich in material substance, but richer still in the traditions of Gregory. Alcuin had now an opportunity of creating a pattern monastery as well as a school, a combination of devotion and learning. His first care was the acquisition of a library, and he asked the emperor to allow him to send some of his monks to York to borrow divers of the volumes which he knew so well and which he called 'the flowers of Britain.' The monks would tell the brethren at York

of the pleasurable places in which their old master's lines had been cast, and, accordingly, so many of his admirers came from England to join him, that their coming was sneered at by the students from Frankland: 'Yet another Briton or Irishman!' To his compatriots Alcuin was especially kind. Witgo and Fredegis, who had been his scholars at York, were, in succession, the masters of the palace school; Liudger, another pupil, was raised to the bishopric of Munster. Fredegis succeeded him at Tours, and Sigulf, another scholar, came after him at Ferrières. The greatest of Alcuin's scholars was, perhaps, Rabanus Maurus, who became the master of the school at Fulda, and carried his teaching beyond the somewhat narrow lines of his instructor. Alcuin's method, however, lived on, and his fondness for a mystical and allegorical explanation of Scripture survived in the instruction given by the great men who subsequently guided the theological training of the University of Paris. That great place of learning and its sister of Bologna are the models after which our Oxford and Cambridge were more recently established.

Meanwhile the school of York went on after Alcuin had deserted it. Among the letters of Lupus of Ferrières, written about the middle of the ninth century, there are two sent to York, in one of which he asks for the loan of three MSS., *i.e.* the Questions on the Old and New Testaments by Jerome and Bede, and Quintilian's Institutions. How far the great library was injured when the Danes captured York in 867 we cannot tell. It seems probable that the work of teaching went on, although its success would depend very much upon the political circumstances of the times. We do not know

when the reforms introduced by Chrodegang of Metz reached York, but when the terrors of the Norman were over we are told that only three of the canons were in residence.

In the new system then introduced by Thomas I., a chancellor was appointed who retained the old title of *magister scholarum*, and whose statutory duty it was to have the charge of all the schools within ten miles of York and to read theology with a class of students in the minster close. In the so-called chancellor's window in the nave of the minster there is a representation of the chancellor of the day, Robert Riplingham, of Merton College, Oxford, who died in 1332, giving his lecture to his pupils. There is abundant evidence to show that the chancellor's class was long maintained, and that he had also under his charge in York itself a grammar school to which he appointed the master. In the 16th century Philip and Mary gave a new life to the school by endowing it with the revenues of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen in the Horse Fair, which had been founded by a former dean of York, and this was done to secure the training of suitable youths for the ministry, especially those who were connected with the cathedral. The income thus given is now enjoyed, in hereditary descent, by the grammar school of St. Peter, which is of a large size and has achieved considerable success. In 1652 an attempt was made to procure the foundation of a university at York for the benefit of the northern counties. A petition was sent up to parliament to desire their help and asking that it should be located in the Bedern, and that the property of the vicars-choral should be appropriated for

its maintenance. Nothing came of the scheme, which was again mentioned, but only mentioned, about sixty years ago.

The old York library perished when York was sacked by the Conqueror, if not before, and, in the interval between that event and the Reformation, the dean and chapter acquired a fair number of books to replace it, but of no considerable extent. Leland speaks of the collection as but small. He saw the books, chained to their desks, in a small building contiguous to the south door of the minster, which was erected for that purpose about the year 1415, and which is at the present time the archbishop's registry. Most of the MSS. which Leland saw are still in existence, and by the Injunctions of Archbishop Holgate in 1549 the dean and chapter were directed to add such books to them as would be of service to students in divinity. About the year 1630 the library acquired the fine collection of books made by Toby Matthew, archbishop of York: These books had come to his widow, who very wisely took them out of the reach of her unthrifty sons and made them over to the chapter. Large additions were made to these by Sir Ferdinando Fairfax and the executors of Archbishop Dolben. During the Civil War the library was made a public one, and was carefully preserved. Early in the last century it was enriched by the splendid liturgical collection formed by Marmaduke Fothergill, the non-juror. During the last twenty years the library has been improved to a wonderful extent both by gifts and purchases. It has recently acquired by bequest the magnificent Yorkshire library, collected by the late Edward Hailstone. It is especially

rich in the controversial divinity of the 16th and the 17th centuries, and by a proper selection of more recent books, especially in history and theology, it has been fairly brought up to the standard of the present day. The books are stored in the old chapel of the archiepiscopal palace, a beautiful specimen of the architectural taste of Archbishop Gray. They were removed to their present domicile from the old library in 1810. The west window is filled with the arms of the members of the chapter at the time, and was executed by Jacob Wright of Leeds.

This seems to be the proper place for a word about the York press, which, for the love of good letters, must not be passed over. There is much still to be discovered about the infancy of printing in this country, and York, like other places, will gain by the investigation. Mr. Davies has published an account of the press in this city which is of extreme interest. Printing can be traced in York to the beginning of the 16th century, and it was possibly here in the 15th. The earliest books published in this city were service-books and grammars, each of which is now of almost priceless value, but the greater part of them were printed abroad and sent here to be sold. After the Reformation the York stationers were, for some time, salesmen rather than printers. Some of their names appear on the great Register of Freemen of the city, but by no means all, unhappily, as Booksellers' Alley, opposite to the south door of the minster, where they had their shops, is in the liberty of the dean and chapter, so that they could sell their wares without being obliged to take up their freedom. Mr. Davies has printed the list of the stock-in-

trade that was found in 1616 in the shop of John Foster, in Booksellers' Alley, which shows that he possessed a very remarkable number of books for a provincial city. Soon after this the local press sprang up into energetic work, and from that time to this it has never ceased to be active. The royal press was here for a while during the residence of Charles I. in the city, and pamphlet after pamphlet in support of his cause issued from St. William's college. Stephen Bulkeley, well-known also in Gateshead and Newcastle, was on the same side, whilst Thomas Broad and his wife had the patronage of the parliament. Towards the end of the century John White raised the character of the York press by his printing, and undertook larger works. He was followed by Thomas Gent, the Hildyards, and the Wards. Gent was, really, a printer of chap-books and sermons, but he had antiquarian tastes as well, and brought out a series of handbooks to York, Ripon, and Hull, of which it is difficult to say whether the illustrations or the printing, &c., are the worst. The Hildyards lived close to the 'Star' in Stonegate and occupied a shop which had the sign of the Bible, a place very dear to the bibliophile. Here resided John Hildyard, who in 1754 astonished the world of letters by printing and issuing from that place a sale catalogue of a vast stock of 30,000 volumes, in various languages, all of them admirably arranged and described. He was succeeded by the Todds, who are still remembered and who had the most extensive book-selling business in the north of England, and issued a long series of very remarkable book lists. The remnant of their multifarious stock was only dispersed about twenty years ago, on the death of Robert

Sunter, who had married the last of the family. I shall never forget my researches into the dusty rooms and dark corners of the old house, discovering remainders of books printed in York more than a century before, and turning over packets of writing paper as stiff as cardboard, not later, probably, in date than the accession of George III. Close by, the bibliomaniac Duke of Roxburgh found a Caxton lying in a shop window, and tempted its owner, with success, to part with his treasure. But it was not in Stonegate only that good books were to be found. Messrs. Tessimond and Wilson both issued catalogues about the beginning of this century, and each must have exhibited a list of more than 20,000 volumes. Where are there such stocks of books in York now?

The best representative of monasticism in York was the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary which lies just outside the city wall in the space now chiefly occupied by the Museum gardens and the Blind School. It was cut off from the rest of the world by a lofty stone wall, which was defensive as well as seclusive. The entrance was by the large gateway in Marygate, a suburb which possessed the unenviable privilege of sanctuary; but when Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., was on her way to Scotland the abbot very gallantly broke the curtain wall of his monastery and built a gateway in it, close to Bootham Bar, to admit his royal guest, who was going to sojourn in the abbey for a single night. The monastery, according to the story, owes its origin to a monk from Whitby who came to York between 1080 and 1090, to whom Alan, earl of Richmond, gave four acres of land and the minster or church of St. Olaf,

which had been built by Earl Siward soon after 1050. The new-comer, as might be expected, met with some opposition at first from the authorities of the minster, to whom he was dangerously near, and who regarded his presence as intrusive; but it came to an end. The buildings which Stephen, the monk, erected became too small before long, and William Rufus, to gratify the Earl of Richmond, gave the monks more land towards the south and laid the foundation stone of a new abbey. This was replaced by a magnificent structure, commenced during the abbacy of Simon de Warwick, about the year 1270, and finished with unusual speed, showing that abundant provision had been made for the undertaking. Even in its decay it is a most beautiful specimen of Decorated architecture. Unhappily, the scarcity of stone in and about York has accelerated the destruction of the fabric, as one person after another has been a successful petitioner to the Government for a remnant of St. Mary's for building purposes. The abbatial buildings lay to the south of the church, and, at the south-eastern corner was the abbot's house, erected very shortly before the Dissolution; it has within the last half-century been converted into the School for the Blind. It had been previously used as the headquarters of the Council for the North, and as the residence of the sovereign on those rare occasions when he visited the district. The abbatial buildings were thoroughly excavated and explored in 1828-9, when many glorious specimens of sculpture were discovered. St. Mary's was one of the greatest Benedictine houses in the country, possessing much wealth and influence; and the abbot enjoyed the rare privilege of

wearing the mitre. The abbey had several cells or off-shoots of its own, and it was from it, in the 12th century, that the famous exodus of monks took place which resulted in their admission into the Cistercian order, and the establishment of the monastery of Fountains, near Ripon.

The greater part of the area occupied by St. Mary's has for a long period been in the possession of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, by purchase or concession from the Crown. It ought to be a matter of congratulation that the Society has under its charge not only the ruins of St. Mary's, but those of St. Leonard's Hospital and the Roman Wall as well. Such a guardianship is the best security for their preservation, and their very presence is wonderfully attractive to visitors from all parts of the world. The Society has also gathered together a very large museum illustrative of the past history of York and Yorkshire. The Roman and mediæval collections, as might be expected, are especially fine. These are stored in a relic of the domestic buildings of the abbey in the lower part of the grounds. The other, and larger, museum is on the crest of the hill, and was built in the Egyptian style by public subscription in 1828-9. Some have regretted that the architecture does not correspond with its surroundings. It is better really as it is. Any attempt in 1828-9 to produce a good Gothic building would have been an appalling failure.

There were two other Benedictine houses in York: the Priory of Holy Trinity in Micklegate, founded by Ranulph Paganel, and the little Nunnery at Clementhorpe, which was begun early in the 12th century. There

was also a Premonstratensian House dedicated to St. Andrew. The four orders of Friars made an early settlement in the city. The Dominican Priory was on Toft Green, the Carmelites in Fossgate, the Augustinians in Lendal, and the Franciscans or Friars Minor in Castlegate. Of these the Dominicans and the Franciscans were the most important. The Franciscans had at York one of their chief houses in England, and had the honour of lodging the early Plantagenet kings when they visited the city, as has been mentioned already. In the *Collectanea Topographica* are published the names of the great personages who were interred within the churches of the York Friars. It was just the same in the Gray Friars' church in London. Some of the noblest in the county and country, for whom York minster had no charm, preferred to rest within the York houses of Friars. Many a person, to whom poverty throughout life was a stranger, chose to enter into the new country in the poor Friar's dress, and to rest his hopes of acceptance upon the poor Friar's prayers. Among the parochial clergy, and members of their flocks, the ministrations and interference of the Friars was anything but welcome. There is a record preserved of a strange scene which occurred in one of the churches in Micklegate. A Friar had been admitted to the pulpit, and spoke so freely, after the custom of his order, about people and things, that both adverse and approving cries were soon heard from the audience. The scene ended in the abrupt termination of the discourse, cut short by volley after volley of shouts, 'Come down, Friar, come down!' This was in the 15th century.

There were forty-one parish churches in York in the

reign of Henry V., a very large number for the size of the city. Every parish vied with the rest in keeping up and ornamenting the church. The stipends of the clergy were but small, as far as fixed incomes were concerned; they depended chiefly upon the offerings of the inhabitants. To every church there were two or three curates or chaplains attached, in addition to the incumbent, and the number of chantries throughout the city was exceedingly large. Of these forty-one churches twenty-two are still in existence. Eighteen were taken down in the 16th century and the parishes united to others, and the corporation was especially desirous of a still greater reduction. Several churches have been erected in the suburbs in recent years to meet the wants of the inhabitants who have migrated thither from the centre of the city. At the present time there are twenty-five parish churches. At one time there was also a large number of chapels, seventeen of which were removed at the Reformation. There is no supereminently fine church in the city; most of them are of the Decorated or Perpendicular styles of architecture, but they have, as a rule, been greatly injured by alteration or curtailment. At the two churches on Bishop Hill there are some remains of pre-Norman work, and St. Dennis, St. Margaret and St. Lawrence have fine Norman doors, the latter being still marked with the old dedication-cross. The most spacious churches in the city, before they were interfered with, were St. Crux, St. Saviour, and All Saints and the last of the three is famous for its beautiful lantern tower, in which a light used to be hung to guide the wayfarer by night as he came through the surrounding forest. Three

churches possess spires, and from three others they have been taken away. In nearly every church there are remains (often considerable) of stained glass, showing that the windows, as in the minster, were originally filled with that beautiful decoration in which the old citizens took so much pride, the work of York artists. The destruction of much of it is due not to the Elizabethan bishops, but to the committee of Puritan aldermen who ruled York in the time of the Commonwealth. The same persons, in their really irreligious zeal, destroyed the beautiful font and brass plates in the minster and stripped the parish churches of many interesting memorials of the dead.

York, in mediæval times, might well be called a city of churches. The clergy, secular and religious, could not be estimated at less than five hundred. At every corner you met an ecclesiastic in his peculiar dress; almost at every hour a service was going on. You were often coming upon the bellman bidding people to some month-mind, or anniversary, with its customary dole, or a funeral, or some procession or other. The bells would be almost continually sounding. Take up the wills and inventories, or the records of the time, and it is easy to see that York was under very strong religious influences. The processions on Corpus Christi day and at Yule-tide, and the performing of the well-known Miracle Plays, were among the greatest treats of the year. Every guild-meeting, trade and otherwise, opened with devotional offices. I have seen many a letter and bill of accompt which is headed with the sacred name. Various trades, which were created and fostered by these religious influences, have long

since disappeared, or become insignificant. The illuminators, the text-writers, the embroiderers, the wax-chandlers, the bell-getters, the organ-makers, the glaser-wrights, are for the most part gone. It may be asked, Were these religious influences deep or trifling? We are bound to think that they were deep from the evidence we possess. That there were great and general abuses, social and moral, it is impossible to deny. Familiarity, even with the most sacred things, bred contempt then as well as at all times, as no one who has examined the sad but graphic visitations of the minster recorded in the fabric-rolls can possibly deny. The reason of the declension is not far to seek. The multifarious services in the minster devolved upon the vicars-choral and parsons, constituting two bodies of thirty-six each, and living in St. William's College and the Bedern. They were half-educated men, with low pleasures and manners, and their living together would do more harm than good. There would be few more painful pictures than those which could be drawn of the depravity of these ecclesiastics as shown by the correction books at the minster. Most of the parochial clergy were preserved, I believe, from such delinquencies, amongst other things, by the strong light in which they lived. Were the societies of monks different? I, with many others, place little credence in the stories which were written down by the royal visitors at the Dissolution. The tendency just now is to go too far in the other direction. For a long while before the destruction of the monasteries all inquiries into the character of their inmates were suppressed or kept in the background. Of course such investigations were made, or ought to

have been made. In the 13th and 14th centuries there are many records preserved of visitations of monasteries disclosing numerous irregularities and faults. It is too much to believe that in the 16th century, when the cords of religious discipline were slackened on all sides, such irregularities had ceased to exist. They were known, and talked about at the time, and could do no good among the laity. Still the hearts of the people in York were not turned away from their old forms and belief. They clung to them and suffered for their adhesion. There was no district in England where so stern a system of suppression and repression was forced upon an unwilling and slowly-yielding people. The clergy in the latter half of the 16th century were very closely watched and looked after. Secret agents of the Roman Catholic colleges of Douay and Rheims were flitting about the country encouraging their co-religionists and trying to bring others over. The severity with which they were punished acted in favour of their cause. It was not until the 17th century began that the clergy of the Reformed Church won their battle over their opponents by learning and argument. Able men, like Andrews and Morton, very flails of controversy, secured the victory in the battle with Rome where Sutcliffe and Bell had failed through their coarseness. All through the 16th century York was inclined to Puritanism rather than to the school of Neile and Laud, and so it has chiefly remained.

The chief of all the charitable institutions in the city was the great hospital dedicated to St. Leonard, of which some interesting fragments remain. It originally filled a large area, of which the city wall was

the boundary, from the modern Museum Street as far as Bootham Bar, a curtain wall running from that point up High Petergate, and down Duncombe Place. The present St. Leonard's Place goes right through the centre of the old hospital. The founder was Athelstan, who, after his great victory in 936, gave the Colidei, or canons of the minster, a thrave, or twenty sheaves, of corn, out of every carucate in the diocese of York. The object of the gift was to enable the clergy of the minster, who were then exceedingly poor, to relieve the needy and maintain hospitality. For this purpose a St. Peter's hospital was built to which large benefactions were made. In process of time the canons found themselves unable 'to serve tables,' and thought it better to dissociate the hospital from the cathedral, and, to mark the change, the dedication was altered from St. Peter to St. Leonard. This was done in the 12th century, and the hospital for the future belonged more to the Crown than to the Church. One reason, probably, for the surrender of their position by the dean and chapter was the very great difficulty of collecting the thraves, and the unwillingness of the land-owners to give them. The income of the hospital was thus one of a precarious character, and the law was frequently appealed to. The charge was in addition to the tithe, and was very obnoxious to the country folk, who in the 15th century opposed it with force of arms. The hospital, however, in spite of these difficulties, was one of the most useful institutions of the kind in England. In 1280 it had an income of nearly 1,100*l.*, the expenses being some forty pounds less, the excess falling to the share of the master. The

staff was as follows : a master, with two servants ; eight brethren who were chaplains, with six servants ; eleven lay brothers in the hospital and eight on the farms in the country, with eight servants ; a clerical receiver and his page ; three secular chaplains and a subdeacon ; a schoolmaster ; a choirmaster, and fourteen choir boys, with five probationers ; fourteen sisters in habit and three without it, and the large number of sixty-seven servants. In the infirmary there were 229 men and women, nearly twice as many as the York Hospital of the present day can hold, and for these there were two washerwomen and seven servants. There were twenty-three boys in the orphanage, with a woman to attend to them and two cows to give them milk. In 1293 there is another MS. survey of the hospital, like that just quoted, in the possession of the dean and chapter of Lichfield, and in it it is stated that 232 loaves and 256 herrings were given away every week in charity at the gate ; thirty-three dinners and fourteen gallons of beer were distributed every Sunday, together with eight dinners for lepers. On the same day each prisoner in the castle, numbering at that time 310, received a small loaf. These are pictures of the regulated alms of a noble charitable institution. There were observed in the hospital as many as 260 obits, on which the death of some benefactor was commemorated and the daily fare of the inmates was improved by his alms. It is a melancholy fact that an institution like St. Leonard's should have been suppressed when the monasteries fell, as if people ceased to be ill when Henry VIII. changed his religious policy.

There was another hospital, that of St. Mary

Magdalene in the Horse Fair, founded by Robert de Pickering, dean of York in 1330, for a master, two chaplains, and six lame and aged priests. This was united by Philip and Mary to the grammar school in connection with the minster, and its endowments belong at the present time to St. Peter's school, a very worthy use to put them to. There was also a hospital for lepers at St. Nicholas's on the Hull road. All the guilds, also, whether for trade or religious purposes, had small alms-houses attached to them, and at the gate of every religious house in the city there would be a daily distribution of gifts to the poor. At the Reformation all this came to an end. There can, I fear, be no doubt that these gifts had a tendency to pauperise the recipients, and when the monastery of St. Leonard's was suppressed a number of persons were turned out into the world with no habits of thrift and self-reliance. The authorities of the city endeavoured to keep the beggars under control by putting them under the charge of four head-men or captains, to whom they gave a frieze coat and a small salary every year. They had thus a kind of official stamp put upon them. In 1663, Thomas Bradley, when preaching in the minster before the Judges of Assize, complained of the crowd of beggars who thronged the streets of York, and appealed to the lord mayor to bring the system to an end. What was the result of his request we know not. But still, although harm was no doubt done by legalising begging, due justice must be done to the efforts made by the corporation through a long series of years to relieve poverty and sickness out of the funds of the city, and to encourage honest labour by having houses for

work, encouraging spinning, weaving, and other kindred occupations. But the destruction of St. Leonard's Hospital was a deadly injury to the just and always present requirements of the sick and maimed. The alms-houses belonging to the various trades in the city died away with the trades themselves, as incorporated bodies, and their places were only taken by little hospitals and alms-houses erected for a few aged and impoverished people. The healing of the body was not attended to in a professional way in any public institution from the abolition of St. Leonard's to the erection of the County Hospital between 1740 and 1750. This, together with the Dispensatory, which began in 1782, is an indescribable boon to the city and the vicinity, although it still does not possess so many beds for its patients, by one half, as were in use in St. Leonard's Hospital in the reign of Edward I.

PART III

THE MUNICIPALITY AND CITY

The old rulers of the City and the growth of municipal institutions—The Reeve and Mayor—Sheriffs and Chamberlains—Council Chamber and Guildhall—The Lord Mayor and his position—The Ainsty—Population—Walls of the City—The inhabitants—The trades—Public buildings—Bridges and river.

IN York, if anywhere, we might look for traces of Roman influence in its municipal constitution, but there is a complete absence of them. The Danes also have left little or no mark behind them. In the 'Domesday Survey' we are told that there were in York seven shires, inclusive of that of the Archbishop. The word 'shire' means a division. The ealdorman was an officer representing the king and the community, and the sheriff, or shire-reeve, was the king's deputy. The White Book of Southwell contains a remarkable letter from the chapter at York to their brethren at Southwell. The chapter state that their privileges were granted to them by Athelstan, and that in the year 1106, 'quum Osbertus fuit primum vicecomes Eboraci,' that officer disputed the rights of the cathedral. Archbishop Gerard thereupon made a formal complaint to the king, who appointed a commission of inquiry, which sat at York, and took the

verdict of a jury of twelve persons, which was against the sheriff. The last of the twelve was 'Ulvet filius Fornonis hereditario jure lagaman civitatis' (*i.e.* lawman), who then also was reeve. From this interesting piece of evidence we seem to discover that, like Lincoln and Chester, York possessed a body of lawmen, probably twelve in number, that this office could be inherited, and that a lawman could hold at the same time the post of *præpositus* and be the head of the city. Bishop Stubbs remarks that such a town as York is, like London and Exeter, 'a collection of communities, based on the lordship, the township, the parish and the guild.' The lordship represented the king and the great territorial lords, such as the church and archbishop, and the monasteries; the township and parish were local jurisdictions, with privileges of their own, and common land; the guild made its appearance last of all. We must look upon it as the merchant-guild, a combination of citizens to regulate trade by by-laws and to advance its progress. The king's interest in the burgh was represented by a tax, called the *Firma Burgi* or Fee Farm Rent (100*l.* per annum in York, when fixed), which was at first collected by the reeve and bailiffs and was of an uncertain amount, until, at last, the burghers got it into their own hands and collected it for the Crown in accordance with strict rules. Whenever a burgh acquired the *Firma Burgi*, it became a commune. This tax must have been acquired by the burghers of York at a very early period. During the time of Henry I., in addition to the general commune of the burghers, a new commune sprang up in the *Gilda Mercatoria*, a combination of the merchants for the purposes of trade.

This, according to a confirmatory charter of John, was granted to the burghers by Henry I., and, in 1130, we have a notice of a remarkable gift of a hunting dog, of the value of 20s., being given to the king by Thomas of York, the son of Ulvet, that he may be alderman of the Merchants' Guild of the place. Thomas, therefore, was the son of the same Ulvet who, in 1106, was an hereditary lawman, as well as reeve of York for that time, and his son, who was most probably a lawman also by descent, now appears associating, or wishing to associate, with the ruling body the management of the trading community of the city.

A charter of privileges, by Archbishop Thurstan, to his town of Beverley, gives it a *hans-hus*, or guildhall, like that of York, so that the grant of Henry I. had not been inoperative. The charter of Henry I. to York was confirmed by Henry II. and John. The last-named king, by deed dated March 25, 1200, confirmed to the citizens their Merchant Guild and their houses in England and Normandy, and their *lastage*, as freely as they had them in the time of Henry his grandfather, and as they are specified in the charters of Henry his father and Richard his brother. When John granted this charter, York was still under the rule of a *præpositus*, or reeve; the claim which Drake makes to its having a mayor at an earlier period being quite unfounded. We learn, from evidences preserved at Durham that whilst Robert Wallensis was sheriff of Yorkshire (1206-11), Gerard, the bell-founder, was *præpositus* or reeve of the city, and that William Fairfax was holding that office about the same time. In 1217 we find a mayor in the place of the *præpositus*, and, no doubt, there were

bailiffs as well. In that year the king orders the sheriff of Yorkshire to give to Hugh de Selby, mayor of York, the house which belonged to Leonard the Jew. We find, also, Thomas Palmer holding the same office; and shortly afterwards, Gacio de Chaumond is mentioned as mayor, Serlo de Steyngate, Thomas le Graunt and Adam le Cerf being then the bailiffs. The three bailiffs were changed into two sheriffs in 1397, and one of the sheriffs was taken away in 1839. It is possible that when the reeve was changed into the mayor, York acquired a new constitution, and this would be effected by associating together in one governing body the lawmen and a selection from the Merchant Guild. The ruling power at a later date consisted of the mayor, twelve aldermen (the number of the old lawmen) and twenty-four others, qualified by having passed the office of sheriff. These, until the time of Henry VIII., were the masters of the city, together with the two sheriffs. But in the reign of Henry VIII., in addition to the above-mentioned body, a liberal measure of reform was brought about by royal charter which added largely to the influence of the trade-guilds. It established a common-council of seventy-two persons, forty-one of whom were to be nominated by certain companies, which are mentioned by name. These, together with the searchers in the electing-companies, were thenceforward to have a voice in the selection of mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, one of the privileges which a portion only of the old governing body of twenty-four had previously enjoyed. To them, too, pertained the election of two members of parliament, for from the time of Edward I. the city has had two representatives. After a while

the decay of the trading-companies in the city necessitated a modification of this arrangement, and, in the time of Charles II., the council was selected from the four wards of the city. This council and the twenty-four sat apart, and in the appointment of officers and in dealing with the revenues of the city, nothing could be done unless the lower house, or commons, approved of it. By the Municipal Corporation Act the number of the common council was reduced to thirty-six.

The sheriffs were originally two in number, and were selected by the upper house in the Corporation out of four names which were submitted by the commons. Much of the legal business of the city devolved upon the sheriffs, who held courts of their own, and were the tax-gatherers and collectors of distresses, fines, and amerciaments. The prisoners in the city's gaol were under their charge, and they were the rulers of all the markets and fairs. In any public ceremony the sheriffs were attended by four serjeants-at-mace and at least twelve halbert men, but this pomp dwindled away.

Another set of influential persons in York were the chamberlains. Eight of these were elected yearly by the upper house out of sixteen who were nominated by their predecessors, and each, in consideration of the honour of his office, gave the city on his election the sum of twenty nobles. The chamberlains collected the rents of the city, and paid the expenses. The interesting series of books in which these are put down are preserved in the muniment room. Upon them also devolved the duty of swearing in, or 'abling,' anyone who wished to exercise any trade or business. The

chamberlains disappeared with the coming in of the Municipal Corporation Act.

The Council Chamber of the city was in St. William's Chapel upon Ouse bridge, but when that bridge was pulled down in 1810, the citizens found a new chamber in the Guild or Common Hall at the northern end of Coney or Coning Street. That building was erected in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. by the mayor and commonalty and the master, brethren, and sisters of the Guild of St. Christopher for their joint use, to be called the Guildhall of the city of York. When the Reformation came the guild was suppressed, and the whole building came into the possession of the rulers of the city, who have made large additions to it, especially during the last two or three years. The hall is a lofty and spacious room with a finely timbered roof, supported by tall beams of oak. In it public meetings have frequently been held, and in it many of the entertainments given by the city have taken place. At the upper end of the hall courts of justice and the judges of assize sat to administer the law until the present year, when a new building for that purpose was erected in Clifford Street.

In front of the Guildhall is the Mansion House, a fine building with a magnificent state room, which was designed by the Earl of Burlington and completed in 1726. Here the lord mayors have generally resided during their years of office and dispensed their hospitality. Prior to the erection of this building the lord mayor had no official residence.

The position of the lord mayor has at all times been a very high one. His semi-baronial title has

belonged to him since the visit of Richard II. to the city. The sword borne before him is that of the Emperor Sigismund. The cap of maintenance, worn by the swordbearers, is the successor of that given by Richard II. himself, which, like other caps and things, was not exempt from the infirmities of age. We never see now the robe of scarlet and the rich mantle of crimson silk, which the lord mayor is entitled to wear, but on every public occasion he is accompanied by his insignia of rank. Drake seemed to think that 'if he only had a gilded mask like his brother, at London, there was no earthly honour that did not belong to him.' His wife partook of his greatness—nay, in one respect she was greater still, as she retained during life the title which her husband lost when his office was taken away, as says that old loyal rhyme—

My lord is a lord for a year and a day,
But she is a lady for ever and aye.

Her ladyship also had her gold chain, the gift of that gallant merchant, Mr. Marmaduke Rawdon. She was the head of the ladies of the city in rank, and was expected to take the lead in setting the fashions. In 1556 the lady mayoress of the day was officially censured for not wearing a French bonnet for the worship of the city! It is plain to see that the influence of the man-milliners was then strong. Every alderman, also, was obliged, when he went outside the parish he lived in, to put on his scarlet tippet and have an attendant preceding him. He might, no doubt, wear his apron, if he chose, nearer home. The lord mayor was also the dispenser of an almost unbounded

hospitality, for which some provision, at last, was made by the city. To every public guest he was a noble entertainer, and handsome gifts were often made to them; for strangers he kept almost an open house. In Drake's time, his public days of entertainment had dwindled down to two, as the historian pathetically observes.

The authority of the lord mayor was paramount in the city. To the lord mayor and his brethren the aldermen every one was obliged to 'aveil his bonnet.' A single disrespectful word brought with it a committal to close ward. In the 17th century, Sir Miles Stapylton, of Wighill, so far forgot himself as to go into the mansion house in a state of intoxication and strike the lord mayor with his cane. He was obliged to make the most abject submission and to pay a fine of 500*l*. In 1500 one of the chief 'personages of the county, William, Lord Conyers of Hornby, wrote to Lord Mayor Nelson, speaking slightly of one of his predecessors in the office: 'I wold ye toke no sample of that carle, your neighbour, John Metcalf, whiche ye knawe is comen lightly up, and of smale substance.' The lord mayor, in reply, boldly said that Metcalf, as everyone in York knew, 'hath wurshipfully been, and born the charge as the kynges lieutenant w'in this citie,' and that if any mischief was intended against him or anyone else in York, Conyers would have to answer for it. With the archbishops, the people of York were generally on kindly terms, but they saw very little of each other. With St. Mary's Abbey the city had many disputes on questions of boundary, but the abbot was a stronger man than the lord mayor. The

minster had its own liberty and privileges, and held the corporation aloof. The fabric owed but little to the gifts of the inhabitants, whose benefactions were chiefly made to their parish churches. As a distinction in a place of dignified worship, the lord mayor and corporation sought seats in the minster after the Reformation as a mark of honour, but they did not allow that they sat there as a favour and not as a right. When the dean and chapter strove successfully to prevent the nave from being used any longer as a public promenade, their great opponents were the citizens. But the corporations of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries were very different bodies. Their influence and position were sensibly diminished. They failed in their duty in more than one political crisis, and so their power as representatives of the Crown was gradually taken away. First the king's lieutenants in the North parts, and then the Presidents and Council of the North, kept the heads of the city under control and deprived them of one privilege after another. Still, when the great Council fell, the citizens petitioned for its restoration, but they had evidently an eye to the mercantile advantages which the presence of so many strangers had brought. Outside the city the lord mayor and his brethren had but little influence. The yeomanry looked up to their own squires, and the squires to their feudal lords and the high sheriff. Their connexion with York was only in the way of buying and selling, and an occasional visit, especially at assize time. The citizens saw in them customers for their wares, and possible patrons, if in some emergency they should need an advocate with some influential personage. They lent

their money on mortgage to the squires and saw that the interest was punctually paid. Their ambition generally was to buy land with their savings, and far and wide throughout Yorkshire you will find family after family in existence at the present day which owes its position to the hardly-earned gains of some tradesman in York, or in some other town of the county.

The wapontake of the Ainsty which lies to the west of York was placed under the jurisdiction of the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs by grant of Henry VI. in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. The origin of the name has never been satisfactorily explained. The city laid claim to a right over the Ainsty at an earlier period, and possibly with some justice, but when the citizens were asked for proof in the courts of Edward I. they could only produce a charter of John with a flaw in the date, through which they lost their cause. The grant of Henry VI., which was subsequently confirmed in the 23rd Charles I., gave them at last everything they had claimed. Of these recent legislation has again deprived them. The Ainsty is the tract of country bounded by the rivers Wharfe and Nidd and Ouse. Originally, like the other districts contiguous to York, it was a forest, but ceased to be so in the time of Richard and John. Still, although the old timber has long disappeared, the Ainsty is even now a woodland territory; the soil exhibits large traces of its early clothing, and if it were to pass out of cultivation would soon lapse into its pristine condition. Almost every village is embosomed in trees, and the cultivated land adjoining has at one period or another been won from the forest. The lofty

steeple of All Hallows in the Pavement in York still contains the remnants of the lamp which used to be lighted every night to guide the traveller through the forest paths to the city. And to every point of the compass the gleaming of the light in the distant belfry would be a welcome pole-star.

The population of York in Roman times has been already spoken of. All evidences point to a wealthy and crowded city, and it is probable that there was no considerable change, as far as numbers are concerned, for a long time. We have to pass on now to the tenth century for the next piece of statistical information. The anonymous biographer of Archbishop Oswald tells us that in the tenth century York contained as many as 30,000 adults, and that it was thronged with merchants, especially Danes. This, if correct, means a population larger than at the present day, and the statement must be received with some doubt. We now turn to the Domesday Survey, drawn up probably in 1086, from which we learn that in the happier days of Eadward, York contained at least 1,600 houses, which gives us a probable population of 8,000. But the vengeance wreaked on the city by William and others tells a sad tale; there were then only 509 inhabited houses, 400 uninhabited, and as many as 500 in ruins, omitting 100 of those which had belonged to the archbishop. There could not, therefore, be more than 2,000 persons then living in the city. But there were 145 houses inhabited by the French, that is, most probably, by the Norman garrison which was here to overawe the place. Leap over a long space of time until the reign of Edward III., in the middle of the fourteenth

century, and then the population was estimated at 10,800, that of Lincoln being 5,100, Norwich 6,000, and Winchester only 2,000, London exceeding them all with its large number of 35,000. There was everything in that century to foster the growth of York—the occasional presence, for instance, of the king and court, the frequent visits and stay of large bodies of troops, and great commercial prosperity. I do not think that the number of 10,800 was ever exceeded in mediæval times. The Wars of the Roses were ruinous in their effects, and the constant complaint of the citizens in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the serious and continued decay of the place, in inhabitants as well as in position and wealth. A slow revival set in when the Civil Wars were over, and by the census of 1801 the population of York stood at 16,145. In 1851 it was 36,302. In 1891, after a readjustment of the municipal boundaries, it was 66,984, or thereabouts. The great cause of the rapid development of York in recent times, has been the construction of the North Eastern Railway. Prior to that, York was essentially a local capital, in the centre of a large and prosperous agricultural district, full of resident gentry, and relying for its connexion with the outer world upon posting and coaches. The railway has made York within easy reach of every part of the country. The coaches are gone and the country-gentlemen pass on to London without halting; still the population of the city has increased very considerably. The railway company have made York one of their great centres, and have brought into it several thousands of workmen, for whose accommodation a large number of new streets have been built.

York has thus lost much of its old exclusiveness, and, in various ways, has been considerably improved. But its architectural appearance has been changed for the worse. It is very much to be regretted that more supervision cannot be exercised over the new buildings which are springing up on every side. It is impossible to have a city full of modern appliances and structures co-existent with the venerable remains of antiquity of which the York people are so proud. Municipal authorities think that they can have both at the same time, and do not admit, until it is too late, that the two systems are incompatible. Take away from York its ancient buildings and its associations, and what remains?

York, like Chester, is nearly girt in by fortifications of considerable antiquity. I have already spoken of the defences in Roman times. The fortified camp with its lofty walls lay on the north bank of the Ouse, with bridges over that river and the Foss, and a dock, probably of considerable extent, in forming which the waters of the Foss must have been very largely utilised. It is well known that the Roman buildings went far beyond the fortified camp, especially on the Micklegate side of the Ouse. It is probable that, when the Romans withdrew, the mixed population which remained behind began to enlarge the defensive lines of the city by heaping up the earth mounds upon which the stone walls were subsequently erected. They wished to protect the buildings which lay outside the Roman camp, and which they had occupied. Their idea of fortifications was simple: a huge mound capped by a palisade of wood, and protected on the outside by a deep trench filled with water. Nearly two miles of this defensive

embankment can still be traced, the mound being in some places forty or fifty feet high, and the trench of considerable depth. This was a work of great labour, as one building after another would be removed to provide materials for the mound, and to clear the space inside where buildings for use rather than defence were now required. Baile Hill and the hill on which Clifford's Tower stands probably represent a portion of the defences of this period with a view to the protection of the river. The first fortress of stone was probably the predecessor of our Clifford's Tower. I do not think that the walls by which the old palisades on the mounds were replaced were taken in hand before the thirteenth century ; indeed there is direct evidence that the greater part of them were constructed during the reigns of the first three Edwards. They still remain, in spite of many changes, a fair and most picturesque representation of the mediæval fortifications of the city. But the deep trench by which they were guarded has in many places been entirely obliterated.

Within these walls there grew into existence, century after century, a great and beautiful city. The larger portion of the population gathered around the minster, which was the favourite side, not only for association's sake but for safety. The area, however, was a very limited one for general use. The minster, St. Leonard's Hospital, and other religious buildings all lay within enclosures of their own, a series of stone pens which prevented the extension of the city. Hence, the destruction of all the old Roman buildings, as they occupied ground which was required for building purposes, to say nothing of the evil reputation which clung

to heathen structures: hence the narrow streets barely wide enough to permit the passage of a single cart. Room and protection were wanted, and health and comfort were sacrificed to secure them. Many of the streets are called gates, or ways, a name which has come down from the old English people. Stone houses were of the utmost rarity. The domestic buildings were flimsy structures of wood, of post and pan work, many of which may still be seen in Fossgate and the Shambles. The name of Pavement, given to one particular part of the city, points to a time when it alone possessed a flooring of cobbles. Go beneath the surface in the York streets, and you will find that the most solid part is a vast accumulation of bones. These were thrown out of the houses close at hand and served the purpose of metal, as we call it, for the roads. In front of every house was the dunghill appurtenant to it, which was cleared away twice or thrice a year by official order, or when some great person visited the city. Before many a house was a clog, or stump of wood, on which its owner often sat and gossiped with his neighbours, catching at every fragment of news, but not always daring to repeat it. Parochial matters, the doings in the council and the trade guild, buying and selling, would be their chief topics of conversation. Their dialect was so strongly marked that the southerner shrank, in assumed superiority, from what he could not understand. Twice, at least, in each week they would eat salt-fish, and their common beverage was beer or ale. As might be expected, they suffered from skin diseases, and, generally speaking, were short-lived, dying by house-rows almost when any epidemic broke out. They

traded under the most rigid rules. For the greater part of their goods they could only charge after the rate of assize laid down by the authorities of the city, and they were rigorously looked to by the masters and searchers of their own trade. Thus they lived, with very few amusements, and shut out from the greater part of the world, proud of their city and their parish churches, which they vied with each other in decorating. We can learn much of their character from the city registers, and from their own wills and inventories. They have passed away with the narrow streets and most of the houses they lived in. The pencils of Halfpenny and Cave have preserved to us many of these very picturesque structures with which York was filled long after the present century began.

The history of the trade-guilds, or companies, in York, involving as it does the commercial advance or decline of the city, is a subject of considerable importance. The *Gilda Mercatoria*, which has been already mentioned, became incorporated at an earlier period with the governing body of the city. Very happily, there is in existence the register of the freemen of York, commencing in 1272, and continuing to the present time, which is rich in information on many interesting subjects. The inquirer into old English surnames and their growth will examine with the utmost pleasure this book and the ordination lists of the early archbishops. The register of freemen shows us the birthplace of many a citizen, and we are made acquainted with the places from which various industries were introduced into this city. From a minute examination of this valuable register in the fourteenth

century, it has been discovered that during the reign of Edward III. as many as 180 different trades were carried on in York, which had dwindled away to 122 in 1831. Of these 180, about 70 were wise enough to have their ordinances enrolled on the books of the corporation, by which their position was publicly recognised. In many instances these trade-guilds possessed property of their own, with alms-houses for decayed members, and sometimes a chapel in which they occasionally worshipped. Some of these trades had particular quarters of the city in which they lived. The Shambles were, and still are, the home of the butchers; the mercers and hosiers occupied the long line of street between Ousebridge and the end of Pavement; the coppersmiths were in Coppergate; the girdlers, in the Girdlergate; the spurriers, in Spurriergate; the potters, in Walmgate and beyond the Foss; the fishers, in the Water-lanes; the founders and bell-makers, near St. Helen's Church; the tanners, in North Street; and the list might be extended. The wealthy merchants resided, not in Coney Street, but between Ousebridge and St. Crux Church. They assembled for business in one of the large rooms of St. William's Chapel on the bridge, which was their exchange or house. Of the old trade-guilds, three alone survive—the Butchers, the Merchant Adventurers, and the Merchant Tailors. The Merchant Adventurers are identical with the old Mercers' Company, and represent the foreign trade of York with the great mercantile cities on the Continent, and they occupy the position of the old *Gilda Mercatoria*, of which they are, to a certain extent, the descendants. But the foreign trade of York was never permitted to rise to

eminence, in consequence of the prohibitory dues imposed by the officers of the port of Hull, who sought to keep the traffic to themselves. The York company, notwithstanding this impediment, did become moderately prosperous, and was flourishing until it crippled itself, at a comparatively recent date, by a fruitless attempt to reassert an old right and prevent a merchant, who had not been able by the company, from exercising his trade in the city. It thus lost its old monopoly and thereby much of its income. The honour of antiquity belongs to the Merchant Adventurers, the priority in wealth to the Merchant Tailors, who have wisely husbanded the resources which they generously administer. It is a pleasure to the writer to have this opportunity of mentioning these two ancient and honourable societies with which he has long been happily associated.

A few words only about the chief buildings in York, and I have done. The ancient Council Chamber of the city, with the Exchange, stood on the Micklegate side of the Ouse, on the ground now occupied by the large establishment of Messrs. Varvill. These were removed, with many other picturesque remains of the past, when the new bridge was built. The Guildhall, however, the chief building in connexion with the corporation, was erected by them in conjunction with the guild of St. Christopher in the fifteenth century. It is an admirable specimen of a great civic hall, and retains, happily, many of its principal and most interesting features. Both of this hall, and of the Mansion House in front of it, I have already given some account. The spacious state-room at the Mansion House, ornamented as it is

with the portraits of distinguished benefactors, is a sight of which any city might be proud. The Assembly Rooms, also designed by the Earl of Burlington, deserve the same praise. The Festival Concert Room, which is contiguous to them, is of a later date, and of an entirely different character, but with it, the De Grey Rooms, and the Corn Exchange, York possesses an excellent suite of large and commodious public places. The Theatre, near the Festival Concert Room, occupies the site, and part of the fabric, of St. Leonard's Hospital. The exterior, which is a recent attempt to produce a fourteenth-century front, is by no means satisfactory.

Among the most conspicuous objects in York are, undoubtedly, the bridges. Originally, Ousebridge was the only passage over the river, now there are four. Old Ousebridge, with its five bows and very spacious and beautiful central arch, was a remarkable fabric, but it was unsuited for the increasing traffic and was removed at the beginning of this century for the present bridge, which, although inferior to its predecessor in appearance, is far more serviceable. In 1863 the old Lendal ferry was replaced by a light bridge of cast iron, and this was followed, in 1881, by another of the same material, and uniting Skeldergate and St. George's Fields, of a more durable as well as ornamental character. The fourth bridge is that by which the North-Eastern Railway Company carries its passengers and traffic to Scarboro', and is, in every respect, of a more humble character. The bridges introduce the wayfarer to the scenery on the river, which is exceedingly picturesque. Old water-gates and walls blend admirably with the buildings of a later date, which

overhang the river, and you may imagine yourself in a low-lying Continental city, thronged with spires and towers. The river, which, up to a century ago, was tidal above York, rolls slowly along. Above and below the city, on the banks, there are walks well-planted with trees, and the waste places of the city and the ramparts will soon be clothed with forest timber and shrubs, an admirable assistance to the beauty of the cream-coloured limestone, of which the walls and older buildings are constructed. But with all the progress of the place, and it has been considerable, the time is not yet near when the old prediction has a chance of being fulfilled—

Lincoln was, London is, and York shall be
The fairest city of the three.

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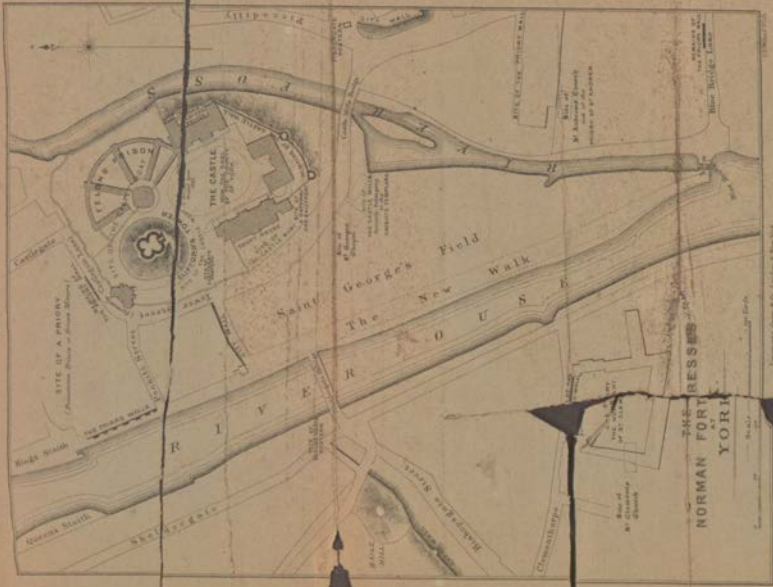
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